THE

LIFE

OF

ADMIRAL LORD NELSON, K.B

FROM

HIS LORDSHIP'S MANUSCRIPTS.

BY

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WAR
DEATH
FAMINE

THE

LIFE

OF

ADMIRAL LORD NELSON, K.B

FROM

HIS LORDSHIP'S MANUSCRIPTS.

BY

The Rev. JAMES STANIER CLARKE, F.R.S.

LIBRARIAN TO THE PRINCE, AND CHAPLAIN OF HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS'S HOUSEHOLD.

AND

JOHN M'ARTHUR, Esq. LL.D.

LATE SECRETARY TO ADMIRAL LORD VISCOUNT HOOD.

VOLUME I.

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VICE ADMIRAL OF THE COASTS OF DEVON AND CORNWALL;—

SIR,

WHEN the United Kingdom expressed its sorrow at the death of the ever to be lamented NELSON, which even the Glory of the great Victory of Trafalgar could not abate, your Royal Highness actuated by your own feelings, and by a greatness and benignity of Mind which have ever distinguished your Character, was graciously pleased to offer to represent the Nation's Grief, as Chief Mourner, at the Public Funeral which the Country voted to one of its brightest Ornaments. And afterwards, when the annals of his life and services were to be given to the Public, your Royal Highness was moreover pleased to request, that

the whole of the late Admiral's Manuscripts in the possession of the Right Hon. William Earl Nelson, as well as the Letters which had been addressed to His Royal Highness, Admiral, the Duke of Clarence, should be furnished to form the history of a Life, which is to be held out as an example of Heroism and professional Talent to future Generations.

The Life of Lord NELSON, Sir, with your permission, is now dedicated to your Royal Highness. Those Patriotic Principles which under your auspices were fostered and encouraged, are in the following pages with your sanction recorded, the sanction of the Prince of that Country for which NELSON fought and died; of the Prince by whom he was cherished whilst living, and by whom his Memory, after death, was honoured in a manner, that was congenial with the enthusiasm and tenderness of his distinguished Character.

JAMES STANIER CLARKE.

JOHN M'ARTHUR.

ADVERTISEMENT.

In addition to the sanction, and leading assistance, which this Life of Lord Nelson received from the Patronage of The Prince, the communications of H. R. H. the Duke of Clarence, and the uniform attention of William Earl Nelson; a very extensive Collection of the noble Admiral's Letters was sent at the Viscountess Nelson's request, by Earl St. Vincent, and every assistance was afterwards given which his Lordship could bestow. The very interesting Correspondence with Lady Nelson, that marks through a long interval the private character and feelings of her Husband in the vicissitudes, and various professional incidents of his life, were kindly though reluctantly granted. The valuable Collection of Letters addressed to the late Lieut. Gov. Locker, were furnished by that Officer's daughter. Admiral Lord Hood directed the whole of his Naval Papers to be examined, and such of them to be inserted as tended to throw light on those operations in the Mediterranean, in which Nelson during Lord Hood's command had been engaged. Our thanks are also due to Lord Hotham, to Lord Keith, Sir Andrew Hamond, Sir R. Bickerton, and to the Admirals Lutwidge, Sir C. M. Pole, Sir J. T. Duckworth, Holloway, Foley, &c. &c. To the Captains G. Cockburn, J. Foote, Hon. H. Blackwood, Sir E. Berry, Sir T. M. Hardy, Hon. Courtney Boyle, and Captain W. S. Parkinson. To Major General Stewart, Right Hon. G. Rose, the Hon. F. W. Wyndham, Mr. F. Drake, Mr. Spencer Smith, Mr. H. Ross, Mr. Davison, Mr. Whidbey, Lieutenant Bromwich, and to many other Officers and Gentlemen whose names are not omitted through any want of attention, but lest the insertion of such a number might have an appearance of ostentation. There remains, however, one Nobleman whose kindness cannot be passed unnoticed, the Earl of Egremont, without whom the interest of the work would have been considerably lessened, and our acknowledgments are due to a distinguished Friend, whose early and zealous countenance of this laborious undertaking will ever be remembered with gratitude.

The chief object in this Life has been to ascertain, and sometimes perhaps more minutely than the generality of readers may approve, the private feelings and motives of this extraordinary man, as well as the great principles of his public and professional character. Yet this has been a most arduous task; and its performance is more easy to cavil at than to accomplish—it has, however, been attempted.

The various services of the noble Admiral in the earlier parts of his Public Life, particularly at the conclusion of the American war and in the peace which followed, have been minutely traced; in order to mark, as far as could be, those troubles and disappointments which he encountered in common with other men, and the anxious moments and neglect which he endured, until at length his wishes were gratified in being again employed at the commencement of the French War in 1793.—Neither labour, nor expense, have been spared to complete the present undertaking; and the Life is now submitted to the Public with a perfect consciousness, that superior abilities, but not greater industry or impartiality, would have rendered it more worthy of the Fame of NELSON and of the patronage of his Country.

Το δε παθειν ευ, πρωτον αθλων·
Ευ δ' ακουειν δευτερα μοι—
ϱ'. Αμφοτέροισι δ' ανηρ
Ος αν εγκυρση και ελη,
Στεφανον υψιστου δεδεκται.

(PINDAR, *Pythia*, Carmen I.)

"To enjoy Success is the first Happiness,
To be admired for great Actions is the second:
But the Man who has and enjoys both,
Receives the chief Crown of Honour."

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ILLUSTRATIVE OF

LORD NELSON'S LIFE,

IN

VOLUMES I. & II.

THE WHOLE EXPRESSLY PAINTED FOR THE WORK, AND THE ORIGINALS IN THE POSSESSION OF JOHN M'ARTHUR, ESQ.

N° 1.

THE IMMORTALITY OF NELSON,

From a Painting by BENJAMIN WEST, *Esq. President of the Royal Academy, 36 inches by 28, engraved by* C. HEATH.

Frontispiece, to face the Title Page.

THE leading point in the Picture represents Victory presenting the dead Body of Nelson to Britannia after the Battle of Trafalgar, which is received from the arms of Neptune, with the trident of his dominions and Nelson's triumphant flags. Britannia sits in shaded gloom, as expressive of that deep regret which overwhelmed the united kingdom at the loss of so distinguished a character. In the other parts of the Picture are seen the concomitant events of his life. The Lion, under Britannia's shield, is represented fiercely grasping the tablets with beaks of ships, on which are inscribed his memorable Battles, and the sons and daughters of the union are preparing the mournful sable to his memory. At a distance on the left, is represented the "wreck of matter and the crash of worlds." The winged Boys round his body are emblematic that the influence of Nelson's genius still exists; other figurative and subordinate parts are introduced to give harmony and effect to the whole composition.

N° 2.

PORTRAIT OF LORD NELSON.

From a Painting by the late F. ABBOT *in November* 1800. *Engraved by* R. GOLDING.

To face Page 1, Vol. I.

THIS Portrait is considered an animated likeness, and Mr. Golding, the engraver, has succeeded in rendering justice to the Painter, after another eminent Artist had failed to give satisfaction in the execution of his plate. Nelson's uniform of a Rear Admiral is decorated with the most Honourable Order of the Bath, granted by his Majesty; the Order of the Great Cross of St. Ferdinand and of Merit, by the King of Naples; and that of the Imperial Crescent, by the Grand Seignior; together with three Medals, suspended from his neck and button holes. His Hat is adorned with the diamond Chelengk, or plume of triumph, presented to him by the Grand Seignior after the Battle of the Nile, which his Majesty confirmed and granted to be borne for his crest as an augmentation to his armorial ensigns.

N° 3.

VIGNETTE. The Parsonage House of Burnham Thorpe, in Norfolk, where Nelson was born.

Painted by J. Pocock, *from an accurate Drawing in the possession of Earl Nelson, and engraved by* J. Landseer.

Page 1, Vol. I.

In addition to his title of Baron of the Nile, on his being elevated to the English Peerage after the Battle of Aboukir, that of Baron of *Burnham Thorpe*, in the county of Norfolk, was conferred upon him.

N° 4.

VIGNETTE. Nelson's Conflict with a Bear, July 1773.

From a Painting by R. Westall, *R. A.* 21 *inches by* 14. *Engraved by* J. Landseer.

Page 6, Vol. I.

Nelson at the age of 14, when Coxswain to Captain (now Admiral) Skeffington Lutwidge in the Carcass bomb, on a voyage of discoveries to the North Pole, having one night concerted a plan with a shipmate older than himself, to steal together from the ship during the midwatch, and endeavour to kill a Bear. He is represented at dawn of day on the ice, at a considerable distance from the ship, which was blocked up. His rusty musket had missed fire; he then seized it by the butt end, and is in the attitude of attacking the fierce animal, separated from him by a chasm in the ice. His companion, after a signal of recal had been made on board the ship, finding the danger was great, and entreaty in vain, had prudently given up the pursuit; but it was not until after repeated signal guns were fired, that the young Coxswain desisted, and returned on board, much mortified at not being able to kill the Bear, that he might, as he told the Captain, have carried its skin to his father.

N° 5.

HISTORICAL. Lieutenant Nelson in the Lowestoffe's Boat volunteering to board an American Letter of Marque captured on the 20th of November, 1777.

From a Painting by R. Westall, *R. A.* 34 *inches by* 28. *Engraved by* A. Raimbach.

To face Page 16, Vol. I.

When Nelson was second Lieutenant of the Lowestoffe frigate, Captain Locker, an American letter of marque was captured during a strong gale of wind and a heavy sea. The first Lieutenant was ordered to board her, and went below for his hanger. The Captain, extremely anxious that the prize should be instantly taken in charge, as he apprehended she must otherwise founder, exclaimed, *Have I no Officer who can board the prize?* The Master volunteered to go, but Nelson suddenly stepped off the gangway into the boat, and in the

act of going over the side, said to the Master, *It is my turn now; if I come back it will be yours.—This little incident,* as he modestly observes in his Memoir, *has often occurred to my mind; and I know it is my disposition that difficulties and dangers do but increase my desire of attempting them.*

N° 6.

VIGNETTE. COMMODORE NELSON IN HIS MAJESTY'S SHIP CAPTAIN OF 74 GUNS, BOARDING THE SPANISH SHIPS SAN NICOLAS OF 84 GUNS AND THE SAN JOSEPH OF 112 GUNS, IN THE ACTION OFF CAPE ST. VINCENT, FEB. 14, 1797.

From a Painting by N. POCOCK, 21 *inches by* 14. *Engraved by* J. FITTLER.

Page 20, Vol. I.

THIS Painting was taken from an accurate Drawing of the late Captain Ralph W. Miller, who was Commodore Nelson's Captain in that memorable battle, and represents in the foreground his Majesty's ship Captain, bearing the Commodore's flag, who after his fore topmast had been shot away, immediately luffed alongside of the San Nicolas, and boarded her on the starboard quarter. In about fifteen minutes, he not only carried this ship by boarding, but also the San Josef, which had previously fallen on board the San Nicolas, and had lost her mizen mast. At a distance, to the right and left, are seen some of the British ships engaging the enemy.

In further illustration of this Enterprise, see the following explanation of the Historical Engraving, N° 7.

N° 7.

HISTORICAL. THE SAN NICOLAS OF 84 GUNS, AND THE SAN JOSEF OF 112 GUNS, CARRIED BY COMMODORE NELSON'S BOARDING THEM, FEB. 14, 1797.

From a Painting by R. WESTALL, *R. A.* 34 *inches by* 28. *Engraved by* R. GOLDING.

To face Page 350, Vol. I.

COMMODORE NELSON, when in the Captain of 74 guns, R. W. Miller, Esq. Commander, in the action off Cape St. Vincent, February 14, 1797, having boarded the San Nicolas on the starboard quarter (as represented in the Vignette, page 20, Vol. I), accompanied by Captain (now Sir Edward) Berry, and Captain Pearson of the 69th regiment, at the head of the boarders and troops. NELSON had jumped into the San Nicolas by the starboard quarter gallery window, followed by others, as fast as possible, while Captain Berry was the first man who jumped into the enemy's mizen chains. The Commodore found the cabin door fastened, and the Spanish Officers fired their pistols at him and his followers through the windows and doors; but having instantly burst open the doors, the boarders made a spirited attack, and the Spanish Commodore, *Geraldino,* fell as retreating to the quarter deck, on the larboard side, near the wheel.

The Picture represents the San Nicolas' quarter deck. The Spanish Captain is on his knees presenting the dying Commodore's sword to NELSON, by him stands Captain Berry, both of

them with expressions of pity towards a vanquished and fallen enemy. Captain Pearson is in the act of turning round to the boarders, announcing the surrender of the ship. The friar is represented kneeling over the Spanish Commodore, and giving his benediction. To the left appear two Spanish Officers struck with panic and consternation, in the act of delivering up their swords. At a distance, on the starboard side of the quarter deck, groups of the Spaniards are seen retreating from the attack of the boarders.

Amidst the smoke is seen part of the stern of the San Josef of 112 guns, with groups of Spaniards firing pistols and muskets from the Admiral's stern gallery. This ship had fallen on board the San Nicolas to windward, as is represented in the Vignette, page 20. *At this moment*, says NELSON in his Narrative transmitted to H. R. H. the Duke of Clarence, *a fire of pistols or muskets opening from the Admiral's stern gallery in the San Josef, I directed the soldiers to fire into her stern. Our seamen by this time were in full possession of every part of the ship (San Nicolas), about seven of my men were killed, and some few wounded, and about twenty Spaniards. Having placed centinels at the different ladders, and calling to Captain Miller, ordering him to send more men into the San Nicolas, I directed my brave fellows to board the first rate San Josef, which was done in an instant, Captain Berry assisting me into the main chains.* The Commodore in another part adds, ***Thus fell these ships.***

N° 8.

VIGNETTE. PORTRAITS OF HIS MAJESTY'S SHIPS AGAMEMNON, CAPTAIN, VANGUARD, ELEPHANT, AND VICTORY.

From a Painting by N. POCOCK, 21 *inches by* 14. *Engraved by* J. FITTLER.

Page 1, Vol. II.

MR. POCOCK has happily succeeded in giving accurate likenesses of the several ships in which NELSON distinguished himself as a Captain, Commodore, and Admiral; and he has grouped them at anchor at Spithead, having their sails loose to dry. In the back ground there is a distant view of Portsmouth.

N° 9.

HISTORICAL. REAR ADMIRAL NELSON IN HIS BARGE BOARDED BY A SPANISH LAUNCH OF 26 OARS AND 30 MEN, IN THE NIGHT OF JULY 3, 1797.

From a Painting by R. WESTALL, *R. A.* 34 *inches by* 28. *Engraved by* ANKER SMITH.

To face Page 24, Vol. II.

REAR ADMIRAL NELSON, when in his barge, with its usual complement of 10 men and the coxswain, accompanied by Captain Fremantle, during the blockade of Cadiz, in the night of July 3, 1797, were attacked by the Commander of the Spanish gun boats, Don Miguel Tregoyen, in a Launch rowed by 26 oars, having a complement of 30 men, including Officers. In this severe conflict, Captain Fremantle nobly supported the Rear Admiral, and was slightly

wounded; and, as Nelson says in his Memoir, *This was a service hand to hand, with swords, in which my coxswain, John Sykes, now no more, twice saved my life. Eighteen of the Spaniards being killed, and several wounded, we succeeded in taking their Commander.*

In this attack John Sykes was most severely wounded in defending the person of his Commander.

N° 10.

HISTORICAL. REAR ADMIRAL SIR HORATIO NELSON, IN THE ACT OF LANDING AT THE MOLE OF TENERIFFE, IN THE NIGHT OF JULY 24, 1797, DANGEROUSLY WOUNDED BY GRAPE SHOT IN HIS RIGHT ARM, WHICH WAS AFTERWARDS AMPUTATED.

From a Painting by R. WESTALL, *R. A.* 34 *inches by* 28. *Engraved by* J. NAGLE.

To face Page 36, Vol. II.

UPON this desperate enterprise his life was saved by the attention and presence of mind of his son in law, Lieutenant (now Captain) NISBET, who is represented standing in the boat with his hands clasped near the Admiral, when he was shot through the right arm. Captain Fremantle having previously jumped into the surf, is represented turning round as the Rear Admiral fell back into the boat, and grasped his sword with his left hand. One of the Admiral's bargemen named Lovel, having torn his shirt into shreds, constructed a sling for the wounded arm, is represented supporting the Admiral on his knee. The seamen and marines collected round him appear insensible to the imminent danger of the moment, and their attention is arrested by the situation of their beloved Commander. At a distance in the back ground, appear some of the British squadron at anchor. To the left is represented the Fox cutter, Lieutenant Gibson, in the act of sinking, from shot she unfortunately received between wind and water. Several boats are assisting to save the crew, and others, manned and armed, are seen pulling in towards the mole to effect a landing.

N° 11.

VIEW OF THE BATTLE OF THE NILE, AUGUST 1, 1798.

From a Painting by N. POCOCK, *size* 40 *inches by* 28. *Engraved by* J. FITTLER.

To face Page 80, Vol. II.

Accompanied by an accurate Plan, corresponding to the View, and shewing also the position of the British Ships at their stations in the attack.

THIS View, taken from the S. E. quarter, comprises the Bay of Aboukir, from the road leading to Rosetta to the town and castle of Aboukir, with a distant view of Alexandria.

The ships of the British squadron, commanded by Rear Admiral Sir HORATIO NELSON, K. B. are represented taking their stations previous to their attack of the French in Aboukir Bay, at sunset, August 1, 1798.

The French squadron, commanded by Admiral de Brueys, moored with their sides towards

the sea, in a compact line, a little inclining to an obtuse angle; l'Orient bearing his flag in the centre. On the left and inside their line, frigates, mortar vessels, brigs, and gun boats.

The British squadron, in full sail, are steering for the centre of the enemy, and hauling up in succession to take their stations. The Vanguard, bearing Rear Admiral NELSON's flag, is distinguished in the centre nearest the eye with a jury foremast. The Goliath, Captain Foley, the leading ship, is seen coming round the enemy's van ship, followed by the Zealous, Captain S. Hood, &c. At a distance to the right, the Culloden is seen aground on the tail of Bequires shoal, and the Mutine brig assisting to get her off; further off to the right are the Alexander, Swiftsure, and Leander, pressing sail to get into their stations.

In the Plan which accompanies this View, the position of the British ships approaching the enemy's line at anchor in the Bay of Aboukir is shewn, and the distinct capital letters prefixed have a reference to their names. Their respective tracks to the anchorage are exhibited by alternate dotted and waved lines, and their subsequent stations in the attack are distinguished by dotted figures with corresponding capitals, smaller and fainter than those prefixed to their first position in the View. The French ships are numbered from 1, the headmost, to 13, the sternmost, inclusive, and are shaded black.

For the names of the British and French ships, with the tracks of the former to their position in the attack at anchor, see the Plan facing the View.

N° 12.

VIEW OF THE BATTLE OF COPENHAGEN, APRIL 2, 1801.

From a Painting by N. POCOCK, 40 *inches by* 28. *Engraved by* J. FITTLER.

To face Page 270, Vol. II.

ACCOMPANIED BY A PLAN.

THIS View, taken from the south east, comprises the City of Copenhagen, and the line of coast in the back ground, also the Danish line of defence, Crown Batteries, &c. at the commencement of the attack upon them by the British ships of twelve sail of the line and frigates, &c. placed by Admiral Sir Hyde Parker under the command of Vice Admiral Lord Nelson, on the 2d of April, 1801.

The British squadron are anchored by the stern, with their topsails clewed up and lying loose. The sixth ship opposed to the Danish line, counting from the left, is the Elephant, Capt. Thomas Foley, bearing Lord Nelson's flag at the fore, and astern of her are the Glatton, Ardent, Edgar, Isis, and Polyphemus. Ahead of the Vice Admiral, on the right, are the Ganges, Monarch, and Defiance, bearing the flag of Rear Admiral Sir Thomas Graves; also the Amazon, Blanche, and Alcmene frigates, and the Arrow, Dart, Zephyr, and Otter sloops. The Russel and Bellona are aground, but firing at the enemy through the intervals in the line. In the foreground are the Discovery, Sulphur, Hecla, Explosion, Zebra, Terror, and Volcano bomb vessels, firing shells occasionally.

For the names of the Danish ships, vessels, and floating batteries composing the line of defence, and further details, see the Plan facing the View.

No 13.

VIEW OF THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE BATTLE OF TRAFALGAR, OCTOBER 21, 1805.

From a Painting by N. POCOCK, 40 *inches by* 28. *Engraved by* J. FITLER.

To face Page 448, Vol. II.

ACCOMPANIED BY A PLAN.

THIS View, taken from the north east, represents the British Fleet, commanded by Vice Admiral Lord NELSON, bearing down in two columns on the Combined Spanish and French Fleet, formed in a kind of double line converging to leeward and lying to, on the larboard tack, N. N. W. and S. S. E. Lord Nelson in the Victory led the weather column, or that nearest the eye, and Vice Admiral Collingwood in the Royal Sovereign led the lee column, who began the action between eleven and twelve, by cutting the enemy's line astern of the Spanish ship Santa Anna of 112 guns, and engaging her closely on the starboard side, while the Belleisle, Mars, Tonnant, Bellerophon, Colossus, and other ships of his column followed, and cut the enemy's rear ships in the line in various directions. At three o'clock many of the enemy's ships had struck their colours, and their line gave way; but the precise time of this View is a quarter past twelve, when the leading ships of the two columns had broken through the enemy's line. The Victory astern of the Bucentaur, Admiral Villeneuve, and the Royal Sovereign about the twelfth from the rear, the succeeding ships breaking through in all parts, either astern or ahead of their leaders, and engaging the enemy at the muzzles of their guns. For the names of the British, Spanish, and French ships, see the Plan facing this View.

No 14.

NELSON, IN THE VICTORY'S COCKPIT, MORTALLY WOUNDED.

From a Painting by BENJAMIN WEST, *Esq. P. R. A.* 34 *inches by* 28. *Engraved by* R. GOLDING.

To face Page 453, Vol. II.

THE point of view is taken from the cable tier before the Cockpit. The wounded Admiral is represented laid on a pallet, on the larboard side of the Cockpit, with pious resignation in his dying moments, his hand in Captain Hardy's. Mr. Burke, the purser, in a reclining posture in front, is supporting him with pillows. The Rev. Dr. Scott, the chaplain, is behind supporting his head. Mr. Beatty, the surgeon, having his right hand with a handkerchief placed on the wound, expresses in his countenance that the vital spark is almost extinguished. Next to him stands Mr. Smith, the assistant surgeon, apparently listening to the last words articulated by the dying Hero, namely, "I HAVE DONE MY DUTY—I PRAISE GOD FOR IT." The carpenter's mate is represented on the foreground to the left of the Picture in a stooping attitude, stepping over the coil of cables. The masses of the chiara-scuro, which fall on this figure, and on the quoil of cables from the lights of the two lanterns, contribute to give harmony and effect to the body of light thrown on the predominant group. Mr.

Bunce, the carpenter, is represented standing near the Cockpit ladder, with a mallet in his hand, and a bundle consisting of plugs and oakam suspended from his shoulder. His attention appears to be arrested to the principal figure of the group, whilst he was returning aft with his mate to ascend the Cockpit ladder, from the duty of plugging shot holes. Henry Chevailler, Nelson's faithful servant, is represented in a dejected attitude looking on, and holding his master's hat and coat. Next to him, on his left, stands Gaetano Spedillo, another servant. At a distance, descending the ladder to the Cockpit, is represented in aerial perspective a wounded Officer carrying down to the Cockpit by two sailors.

The principal Portraits of this Picture were painted by Mr. West from life; those of Captain Hardy, the Rev. Dr. Scott, Mr. Burke, and Mr. Beatty, as well as that of the dying Admiral, are such characteristic Likenesses, as to add no small degree of interest and sympathy to the affecting scene of the historical composition.

N° 15.

RELATIVE SITUATION OF THE BRITISH AND COMBINED FLEETS

At the close of the Battle of Trafalgar, Oct. 21, 1805.

Painted by N. Pocock, *size* 40 *inches by* 28. *Engraved by* J. Fittler.

To face Page 454, Vol. II.

Accompanied by a Plan.

In this View, taken from the south east, the French Rear Admiral Dumanoir's division is in the distance, with all sail set, on a wind, standing to the southward; the Minotaur and Spartiate endeavouring to prevent his escape, and cut off his rear ship, the Neptuno, which was effected.

The Victory (Vice Admiral Lord Nelson) with several flags displayed on her foremast, is seen in the centre with the Bucentaur, which had surrendered, on her larboard side. The Royal Sovereign (Vice Admiral Collingwood), having her main and mizen masts gone, is a little way astern, with the Santa Anna lying dismasted on her larboard side. The Neptune, Captain Fremantle, is ahead of the Victory, lying to alongside of the Santissima Trinidada. On the starboard bow of the Victory is the Temeraire, Captain Eliab Harvey, between the Redoubtable and another French ship. Astern of this group to the right, and nearer the eye, is the Leviathan, Captain Bayntun, with the St. Augustino on her larboard side; all those Spanish and French ships had surrendered. Ahead of the Leviathan are seen several English ships in chace of the enemy flying to leeward, one of which, a Spanish ship, is cannonaded by the Leviathan, also by the Conqueror to the right, and nearer the eye, setting all sail in chace. At a distance on the left is represented the Achille, Spanish ship, on fire. The Prince, Captain Grindall, lying to, and the Pickle schooner near her, are rendering assistance to save the crew. The Euryalus and Sirius frigates are standing to render assistance to our disabled ships. In the centre of the foreground is the Bellerophon towing clear of the Bahama, Spanish ship, and l'Aigle, French ship, which had surrendered. Astern of the Bellerophon, on the foreground, is the Mars with the Monarca, Spanish ship, which had also surrendered. To the left, astern of l'Aigle, is the Defiance, Captain Durham, in a crippled state, after having

some time engaged l'Aigle previous to her surrender; and nearest the eye to the left is the Tonnant, Captain Tyler, making sail in chace of the enemy's ships to the eastward, but which last could not be introduced into the picture.

For further details, see the Plan facing this View.

N° 16.

TAIL PIECE.

To face Page 470, Vol. II.

HEAD OF NELSON, after the manner of an antique cameo placed on a sarcophagus, and surrounded by the emblem of Eternity, with a palm branch on each side, and his motto, *Palmam qui meruit ferat*. The Likeness is principally taken from the Bolton medal. This plate is engraved by J. LANDSEER, Engraver to the King, from a design by R. SMIRKE, jun.

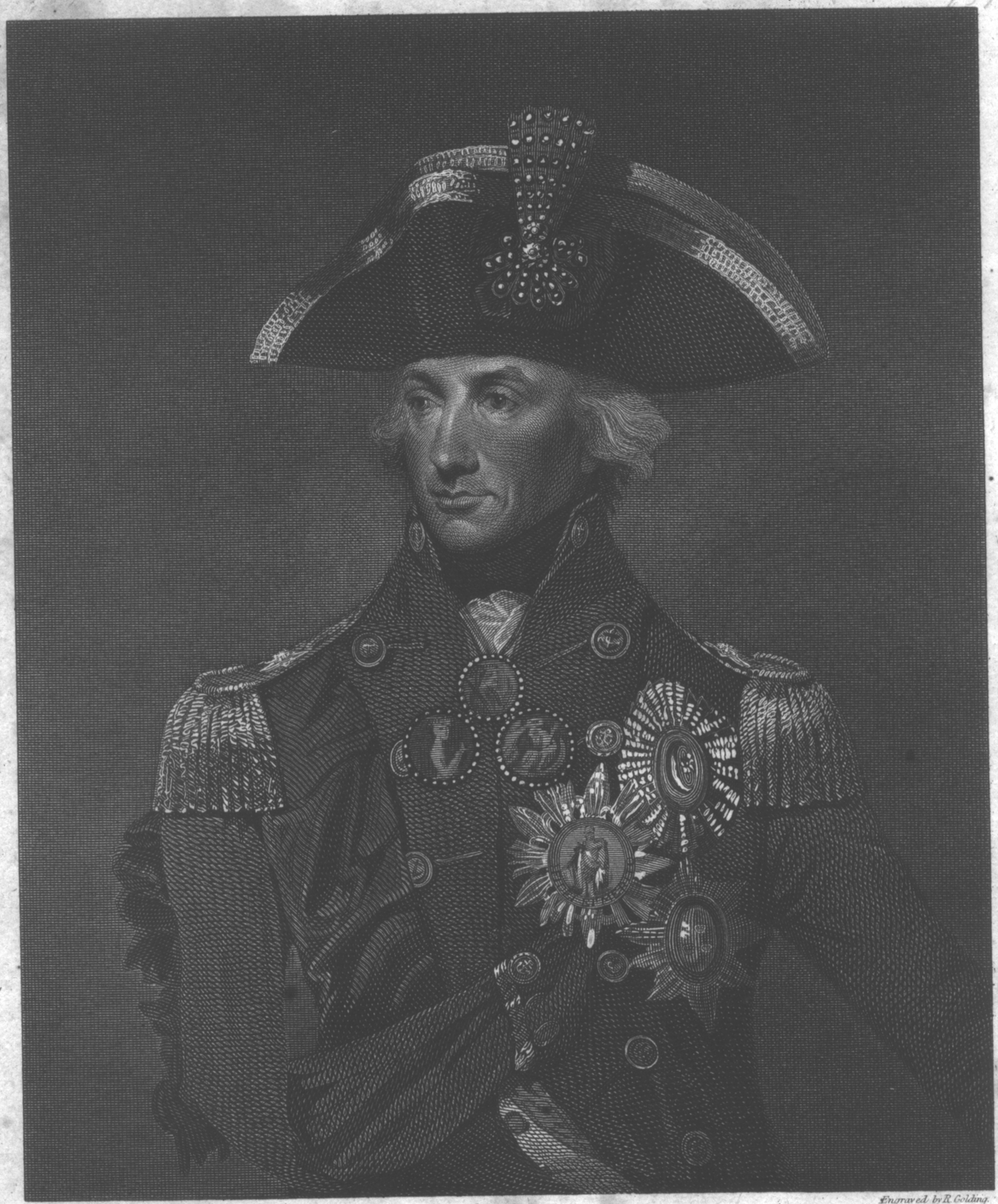
GENERAL DIRECTIONS TO THE BINDER.

The historical Engravings and Views of Battles are to face the pages denoted in the preceding explanations, and the four Plans of Battles are to face the respective marine Views.

The detached Fac Simile of the first page of Nelson's Memoir to face page 3, Vol. I.

The Elevation and Plan of Martello Tower, Corsica, to face page 150, Vol. I.

The Nelson Pedigree sheet, Appendix, N° 1, to be pasted on a guard after page 359 of Vol. I.



Painted by L.F. Abbott. *Engraved by R. Golding.*

LORD VISCOUNT NELSON, K.B. VICE ADMIRAL, &c &c. &c.

Ætat 43.

Published Nov.r 15.th 1808. by T. Cadell & W. Davies. Strand.

THE PARSONAGE HOUSE OF BURNHAM THORPE.

Painted by F. Pocock. *Published Nov.r 13. 1808, by T. Cadell & W. Davies, Strand.* *Engraved by J. Landseer.*

INTRODUCTION.

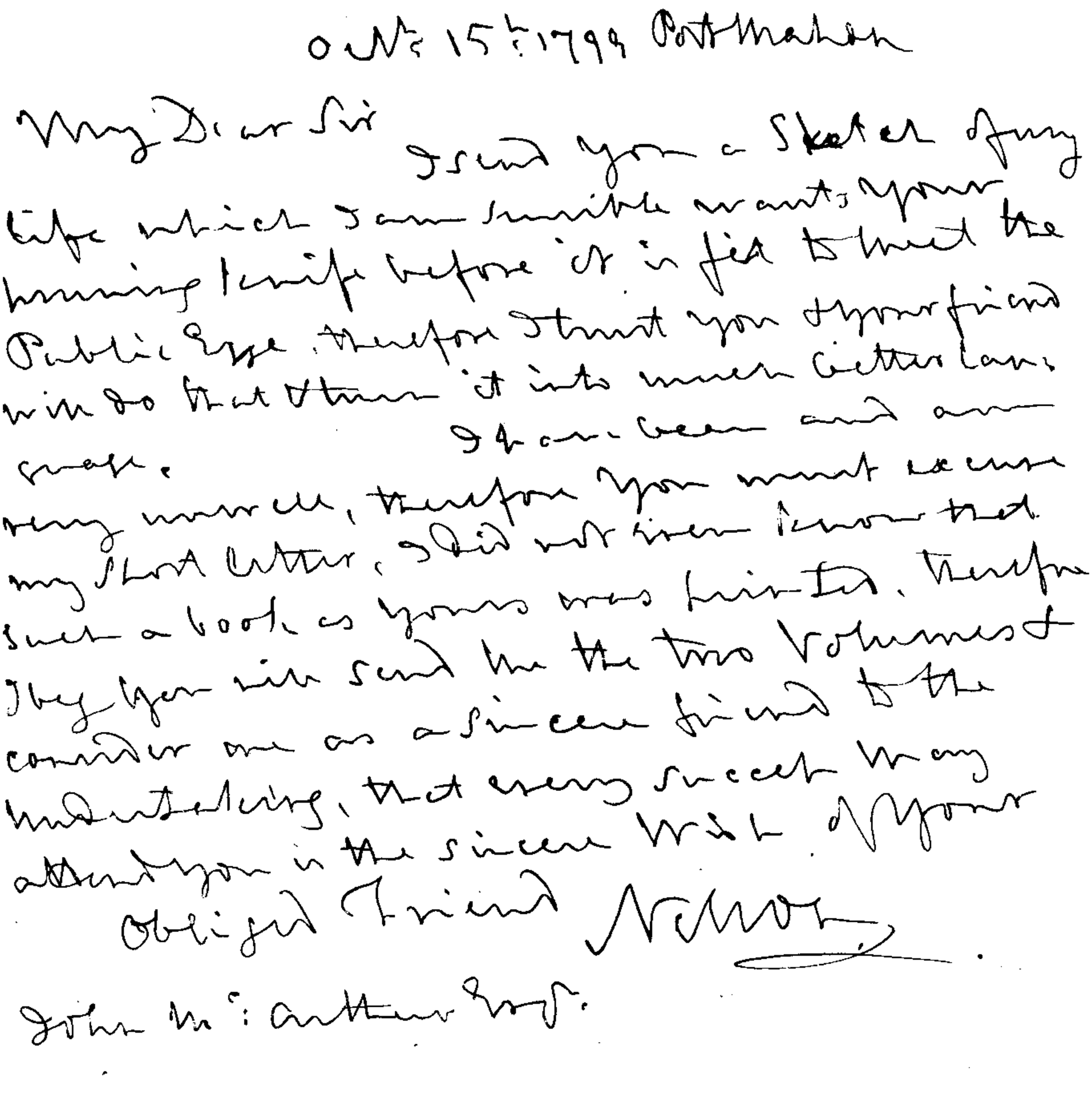
THE life of HORATIO NELSON presents one of those rare examples of that early and ardent passion for true glory, which may induce men to excel in every branch of professional duty, and to preserve, through all the vicissitudes of public service, a stedfast reliance on the gratitude of their country.

The following narrative will shew by what exertions the son of a private clergyman obtained the highest rewards to which human nature can aspire, the applause of his contemporaries, and the veneration of posterity. By proving himself entirely devoid of indolence, avarice, and envy, he inspired his countrymen with such confidence in his integrity and abilities, that they almost regarded his existence as essential to their own independence, and to the liberties of the civilized world.

This illustrious officer sacrificed his life in defending that independence and those liberties. When he spoke of himself in the succeeding memoir, he had no other motive for communicating that summary of his public services, than a desire to lessen the arduous task of his biographer, and a wish that his life might be recorded with the strictest adherence to truth.

A part of this concise memoir is placed before each of the three following divisions of his life, to give a greater degree of accuracy and interest to the narrative. In the first book, we trace him from his infancy to the rank of commander; in the second, from his obtaining that rank to his becoming a rear admiral; and in the third, from the hoisting of his flag to his glorious death. The pages that succeed his memoir, in each of these divisions, will more particularly illustrate those events which he himself had slightly noticed, and will record with fidelity his public services, without losing sight of his private character:

> . . . . . Mens ardua semper
> A puero, tenerisque etiam fulgebat in annis
> Fortunæ majoris honos. CLAUDIAN.



LORD NELSON'S MEMOIR OF HIS SERVICES.

FAC SIMILE. *page 1.*

Horatio Nelson ~~was~~ Born Son of the Revd Edmund
Nelson, Rector of Burnham Thorpe, in the Co of Norfk
and Catherine his Wife, Daughter of Docr Suckling
Prebendy of Westminster, whose Grandmother was Sister
to Sir Robert Walpole Earl of Orford.

I was Born Sept: 29th 1758 in
the Parsonage house. was sent to the High School
at Norwich & afterwards removed to Northway
from whence on the disturbance with Spain
relative to Falkland's Islands, I went to Sea
with my Uncle Capt. Maurice Suckling, in the
Raisonable of 64 Guns: but the business with
Spain being accommodated, I was sent in
a Wastrel: a Ship belonging to the house of
Hibbert Purrier & Horton, with Mr. John
Rathbone, who had formerly been in the Navy
in the Dreadnought with Capt. Suckling. from
this Voyage I returned to the Triumph at Chatham
in July 1772; and as I did not improve in
my Education, I returned a practical Sea
with a horror of the Royal Navy, and with a
saying that constant with the Seamen, "aft
the most honor forward and the better man:"
it was many weeks before I got in the
least reconciled to a man of War, so dark was
the prejudice rooted; and what pains were taken
to instil this erroneous principle in the young
Mind

LORD NELSON'S MEMOIR OF HIS SERVICES.

PART I.

From 1758 *to* 1778.

"HORATIO NELSON, son of the Rev. Edmund Nelson, rector of Burnham Thorpe, in the county of Norfolk, and of Catherine[b] his wife, daughter of Doctor Suckling, prebendary of Westminster, whose grandmother was sister to Sir Robert Walpole Earl of Orford.

"I was born Sept. 29, 1758, in the Parsonage-house, was sent to the high school at Norwich, and afterwards removed to North Walsham; from whence, on the disturbance with Spain relative to the Falkland Islands, I went to sea with my uncle, Captain Maurice Suckling, in the Raisonable of 64 guns. But the business with Spain being accommodated, I was sent in a West India ship belonging to the house of Hibbert, Purrier, and Horton, with Mr. John Rathbone, who had formerly been in the navy in the Dreadnought with Captain Suckling. From this voyage I returned to the Triumph at Chatham in July 1772; and, if I did not improve in my education, I came back a practical seaman, with a horror of the royal navy, and with a saying, then constant with the seamen, 'Aft the most honour, forward the better man!'—It was many weeks before I got in the least reconciled to a man of war, so deep was the prejudice rooted; and what pains were taken to instil this erroneous principle in a young

[b] Mrs. Nelson, the grand-daughter of Sir Charles Turner, Bart. of Warham, in the county of Norfolk, and of Mary, daughter of Robert Walpole, Esq. of Houghton, and sister to Sir Robert Walpole, first Earl of Orford, and to Horatio first Lord Walpole of Wolterton; was married to the Rev. Edmund Nelson, May 11, 1749, and died December 24, 1767. She had issue eight sons and three daughters; but many died young. One son, the present earl, and two daughters, Mrs. Bolton and Mrs. Matcham, are the only survivors. The Nelson family has been long resident in Norfolk, and for many years the patrons of Hilborough, of which parish the grandfather of the noble admiral was rector. His son, the Rev. Edmund Nelson, was presented to the living of Burnham Thorpe by Horatio, Lord Walpole of Wolterton, father to the present Earl of Orford, who was godfather to Nelson, and gave him the name of Horatio. For further particulars refer to the Nelson Pedigree, in the Appendix. —Not far from Burnham Thorpe, at a small village called Cockthorpe, three distinguished naval officers were born, Sir John Narborough, Sir Cloudesley Shovel, and Sir Christopher Mimms.

mind! However, as my ambition was to be a seaman, it was always held out as a reward, that if I attended well to my navigation, I should go in the cutter and decked long-boat, which was attached to the commanding officer's ship at Chatham. Thus by degrees I became a good pilot for vessels of that description from Chatham to the tower of London, down the Swin, and the North Foreland, and confident of myself amongst rocks and sands, which has many times since been of great comfort to me. In this way I was trained, till the expedition towards the North Pole was fitted out; when, although no boys were allowed to go in the ships (as of no use), yet nothing could prevent my using every interest to go with Captain Lutwidge in the Carcass; and, as I fancied I was to fill a man's place, I begged I might be his cockswain: which, finding my ardent desire for going with him, Captain Lutwidge complied with, and has continued the strictest friendship to this moment. Lord Mulgrave, whom I then first knew, maintained his kindest friendship and regard to the last moment of his life. When the boats were fitting out to quit the two ships blocked up in the ice, I exerted myself to have the command of a four-oared cutter *raised upon*, which was given me, with twelve men; and I prided myself in fancying I could navigate her better than any other boat in the ship.

"On our arrival in England, being paid off, Oct. 15, I found that a squadron was fitting out for the East Indies; and nothing less than such a distant voyage could in the least satisfy my desire of maritime knowledge. I was placed in the Seahorse of 20 guns, with Captain Farmer, and watched in the foretop; from whence in time I was placed on the quarter-deck: having, in the time I was in this ship, visited almost every part of the East Indies, from Bengal to Bussorah. Ill health induced Sir Edward Hughes, who had always shewn me the greatest kindness, to send me to England in the Dolphin of 20 guns, with Captain James Pigot, whose kindness at that time saved my life. This ship was paid off at Woolwich on the 24th September, 1776. On the 26th I received an

order from Sir James Douglas, who commanded at Portsmouth, to act as lieutenant of the Worcester, 64, Captain Mark Robinson, who was ordered to Gibraltar with a convoy. In this ship I was at sea with convoys till April 2, 1777, and in very bad weather. But although my age might have been a sufficient cause for not entrusting me with the charge of a watch, yet Captain Robinson used to say, 'He felt as easy when I was upon deck, as any officer in the ship.'

"On the 8th of April 1777, I passed my examination as a lieutenant; and received my commission the next day, as second lieutenant of the Lowestoffe frigate of 32 guns, Captain (now lieutenant governor of Greenwich hospital) William Locker. In this ship I went to Jamaica: but even a frigate was not sufficiently active for my mind, and I got into a schooner, tender to the Lowestoffe. In this vessel I made myself a complete pilot for all the passages through the (Keys) Islands situated on the north side Hispaniola. Whilst in this frigate an event happened which presaged my character; and, as it conveys no dishonour to the officer alluded to, I shall insert it.

"Blowing a gale of wind, and very heavy sea, the frigate captured an American letter of marque. The first lieutenant was ordered to board her, which he did not do, owing to the very heavy sea. On his return, the captain said, "Have I no officer in the ship who can board the prize?" On which the master ran to the gangway to get into the boat: when I stopped him, saying, "It is my turn now; and if I come back, it is yours." This little incident has often occurred to my mind; and I know it is my disposition, that difficulties and dangers do but increase my desire of attempting them.

"Sir Peter Parker, soon after his arrival at Jamaica, 1778, took me into his own flag ship, the Bristol, as third lieutenant; from which I rose by succession to be first. Nothing particular happened whilst I was in this ship, which was actively employed off Cape François, it being the commencement of the French war."

NELSON'S CONFLICT WITH A BEAR JULY, 1773.

Painted by R. Westall. R.A. London Published by Cadell & Davies. Strand 1809. Engraved by J. Landseer

BOOK THE FIRST.

From 1770 *to* 1778.

WHILST SERVING ON BOARD HIS MAJESTY'S SHIPS RAISONABLE, TRIUMPH, CARCASE, SEA-HORSE, WORCESTER, LOWESTOFFE, AND BRISTOL.

1770. Anno Ætat. 13. TOWARDS the close of the year 1770, during the Christmas holidays, when the Rev. Edmund Nelson was at Bath for his health, and the greater part of his family, then consisting of eight children, was left at the parsonage-house of Burnham Thorpe, in Norfolk; his son Horatio, who had often expressed a wish not to be a burden to his father, happened to read in the county paper the appointment of his mother's brother, Captain Maurice Suckling,[b] to the Raisonable of 64 guns. Upon which he exclaimed, 'Do, brother William, write to my father at Bath, and tell him I should like to go

[b] Captain Maurice Suckling, whose character as a naval officer stood very high in the service, was descended from an ancient family long resident at Wooton, or Wodton, in Norfolk, which had given birth to the celebrated poet, Sir John Suckling; whose father was comptroller of the household, and a member of the privy council in the reigns of James I. and Charles I. A memoir of this officer's professional life, with his portrait, is inserted in the fourteenth volume of the Naval Chronicle.

with uncle Maurice to sea.' William,[c] who had been the constant companion of Horatio, and was a little more than seventeen months older than his brother, wrote accordingly. The worthy rector of Burnham, who loved all his children, and had struggled hard in supporting so numerous an offspring, was sensible of the generous motive which had thus induced a youth of twelve years to endeavour to provide for himself. His father's hopes of assistance from Captain Suckling, notwithstanding his visit to the parsonage on the death of Mrs. Nelson in Dec. 1767, and his promise to take care of one of her children, were not over sanguine. Various disappointments, with the difficulties of a narrow income, had chilled in the mind of Mr. Nelson all idea of patronage from his connections; and the loss of his wife whom he had tenderly loved, cast an additional gloom over the prospect of his humble expectations. The daring resolution, however, of his boy Horatio gradually warmed the less sanguine mind of the father; and infirm health rendering him anxious not to lose an opportunity, which seemed to offer so desirable a provision for one of his sons, he resolved to write to Captain Suckling. From the answer which Mr. Nelson received, the following passage is remembered:—' What has poor Horace done, who is so weak, that he above all the rest should be sent to rough it out at sea? But let him come; and the first time we go into action, a cannon ball may knock off his head and provide for him at once.'

Such were the domestic incidents which decided the profession of Nelson. The Raisonable not being ready for sea, the two brothers returned, after their Christmas holidays were over, to the school at North Walsham, where Horatio remained until the spring[d] of 1771. It was very early and in a cold and dark morning, when Mr. Nelson's servant arrived with the expected summons: the parting between the brothers was extremely painful, especially to William who was left behind. Horatio had been his playmate and bedfellow; and even at that period was looked up to by all the school for his disinterestedness and intrepidity; as a proof of which, the following anecdote may be related. The master, the Rev. Mr. Jones, had some remarkably fine pears which his scholars had often wished for; but the attempt to gather them was in their opinion so hazardous, that no one would undertake it: when Horatio, on seeing all his companions staggered, came forward and offered to brave the danger. He was accordingly one night lowered down from their dormitory by some sheets tied together, and thus, at a considerable risk, secured the prize: but the boldness of the deed was all that the young adventurer regarded; for, on being hauled up again, he shared the pears among his school-

[c] The Right Honourable and Rev. William Earl Nelson, born April 20, 1757.

[d] It is probable, from some manuscript notes among his papers, that he was rated on the books of the Raisonable from the first of January. Earl Nelson perfectly remembers, that it was the month of March, or April, before his brother left the school.

fellows, without reserving any for himself; and added, *I only took them because every other boy was afraid.* Five guineas were offered the next morning to discover the plunderer: but young Nelson was too much beloved for any boy to betray him.

It is also related of him, that at an earlier period, and when he was quite a child, he strayed from his grandmother's house at Hilborough, after birds' nests, with a cow boy. The dinner-hour arriving without his appearance, the alarm of the family became very great; for they apprehended that he had been carried off by the gipsies. Search was instantly made in various directions; and at length he was discovered, without his companion, sitting with the utmost composure by the side of a stream which he had been unable to pass. 'I wonder, child,' exclaimed the old lady on seeing him, 'that hunger and fear did not drive you home.'—'Fear never came near me, grandmama!' replied Horatio.

Another anecdote is remembered, strikingly characteristic of that inflexible honour which marked the subsequent actions of our noble countryman. When the brothers, William and Horatio, were once going to school on their ponies; William, who did not much like the journey, having advanced a short distance from his father's gate, and found that a great deal of snow had fallen, returned with his brother to the parsonage, and informed Mr. Nelson, 'That the snow was too deep to venture.' *If that be indeed the case,* replied the father, *you certainly shall not go: but make another attempt, and I will leave it to your honour. If the road should be found dangerous, you may return: yet remember, boys! I leave it to your honour.* They accordingly proceeded; and although various difficulties presented themselves, which offered a plausible reason for their return home, Horatio was proof against them all, exclaiming, *We have no excuse! Remember, brother, it was left to our honour!*

But to resume the narrative. Nelson, having thus quitted the school of North Walsham, in the spring of 1771, accompanied his father to London, and was thence sent to join the Raisonable, 64 guns, then lying in the Medway. On his arrival in the stage at Chatham, he was put down with the other passengers, and left to find his way alone to the ship. After wandering about in the cold without being able to get on board, he was at last observed by an officer; who, happening to know his uncle, took Horatio home and gave him some refreshment. Captain Suckling did not come down until some days after his nephew, who was an utter stranger to every one. The scene was new, and entirely different from any that his youthful mind had hitherto witnessed. His health had been much impaired by an aguish complaint; and the filial tenderness of his heart at first required a solace which it did not find. For some days he regularly paced the quarter deck, and seemed to have no friend: but he soon discovered what cordial hospitality is often concealed under the austerity of a seaman.

The Raisonable, which did not remain long in commission, was paid off on the amicable adjustment of our dispute with the Spaniards, respecting a harbour[e] in the Falkland islands. During the month of May, Captain Suckling was appointed to the Triumph, 74 guns, stationed as a guardship in the Medway; which being considered as too inactive a life for his nephew, he was sent to the West Indies under the command of a Mr. Rathbone, who had served as master's mate with Captain Suckling, during the former war, in the Dreadnought. On their return home, Mr. Nelson was received by his uncle on board the Triumph in July, 1772. Whether Mr. Rathbone had wished to retain his charge in the merchant service, or that some of his mates had inadvertently expressed sentiments reflecting on the hardships which officers endured in the king's service,[f] it is now impossible to ascertain; but Nelson's Memoir of his services affords a striking proof of the bias which his mind had acquired during the voyage: a bias which his love of glory afterwards changed into the most zealous and decided regard for the royal navy. The excellent mode which Captain Suckling adopted to subdue this extraordinary prejudice in his nephew, and to make him an able seaman, is fresh in the reader's recollection.

Anno Ætat. 15.

The enterprise of Nelson appears to have been first called forth, on hearing of the expedition which the Earl of Sandwich proposed to his Majesty in 1773, in consequence of an application from the Royal Society. Its object was to ascertain how far navigation was practicable towards the North Pole, and whether any passage could be discovered from the Arctic to the Pacific Ocean. The conduct of this voyage was given to the Hon. Captain C. J. Phipps,[g] who had volunteered his services; and the Racehorse and Carcass bombs, as being the strongest sort of vessels, were fitted in the most complete manner for the undertaking. Two masters of Greenlandmen were employed as pilots

[e] This harbour had been explored, and named Port Egmont by Commodore Byron in 1764. It was restored by Don Francisco d'Orduna, September 16, 1771. These islands originally received the name of Falkland from Captain Strong in 1639.

[f] The horror which Nelson conceived against the royal navy may be contrasted with a recent instance of partiality for it, in the master of a merchantman, who at the age of twenty-one years felt such ardour for the king's service, that he actually gave up the lucrative command of a West India ship for the station of midshipman, in the hopes of one day obtaining an higher rank in the royal navy. The insertion of his name would wound the great modesty of his character.

[g] The Honourable Captain Constantine John Phipps, succeeded to the title of his father, Lord Mulgrave, in the year 1775, and was returned Member for Huntingdon in 1777, which town he continued to represent until the general election in 1784. He was also appointed one of the lords commissioners of the admiralty, and resigned his situation on the 30th May, 1782. At the general election in 1784 he was returned member for the town of Newark-upon-Trent; in the month of April during the same year, he was appointed joint paymaster general of the forces; and on the 18th of May following, one of the commissioners for managing the affairs of the East India Company. On the 16th of June, 1790, he was raised to the rank of a peer of Great Britain; and dying on the 10th of October, 1792, *was succeeded by his brother, the Right Hon. Henry Phipps, now first lord* of the Admiralty.

for each ship, whose ordinary establishment was departed from, by appointing an additional number of officers, and entering effective men instead of the usual number of boys; which circumstance is alluded to by Nelson in his Memoir. The senior officer's ship was the Racehorse; and the Carcass, in which Nelson sailed as the captain's cockswain, was given to Skeffington Lutwidge, Esq. The dreary solitude of the North Pole, and the peculiar hardships of so dangerous a voyage, had hitherto, from the year 1615, prevented any attempt from being renewed to explore those circumpolar seas. It is remarkable that they should have been considered so desirable a station by Nelson, then only in his fifteenth year; and whose weak and aguish constitution might rather have sought the indulgence of a warmer climate. But his zealous mind was never subdued by corporeal infirmity. He accordingly left the Triumph for the Carcass; and to use his own words, as they appear among his most early memoranda, " was placed under the protection of that good man, Captain, now Admiral, Lutwidge." [h]

The Racehorse and Carcass left the Nore, June 4, 1773, and made the land of Spitzbergen on the 28th. Having explored that coast and the adjacent islands, the ice, which had hitherto considerably impeded their progress, became still more alarming on the 30th; and it is to this part of the voyage that the reader's attention has been directed by the preceding extract from Nelson's Memoir. " Between eleven and twelve at night, of July 30," says Captain Phipps, " I sent the master, Mr. Crane, in the four-oared boat, amongst the ice, to try whether he could get the boat through, and find any opening for the ship, which might give us a prospect of getting farther. At five in the morning, the ice being all round us, we got out our ice-anchors, and moored alongside a field. The master returned between seven and eight, and with him Captain Lutwidge, who had joined him on shore. They had ascended a high mountain, whence they commanded a prospect extending to the east, and north-east, ten or twelve leagues, over one continued plain of smooth unbroken ice bounded only by the horizon. In returning, the ice having closed much since they went, they were frequently forced to haul the boat over it to other openings. The weather exceedingly fine and mild, and unusually clear. The scene was beautiful and picturesque; the two ships becalmed in a large bay, with three apparent openings between the islands which formed it; but every where surrounded with ice as far as we could see, with some streams of water; not a breath of air, the water perfectly smooth, the ice covered with snow, low and even, except a few broken pieces near the edges: the pools of water in the middle of the pieces were frozen over.

" On the 31st, at nine in the morning, having a light breeze to the eastward, we cast off, and endeavoured to force through the ice. At noon the ice was so close, that being unable

[h] Admiral of the white squadron.

to proceed, we moored again to a field. The Carcass moved, and made fast to the same field with us. The ice measured eight yards ten inches in thickness at one end, and seven yards eleven inches at the other. In the afternoon the ice closed fast, and was all round the ships; no opening to be seen any where, except a hole of about a mile and a half where the ships lay fast to the ice with ice-anchors. The ship's company were playing on the ice all day. The pilots being much farther than they had ever been, and the season advancing, seemed alarmed at being beset.

" August the 1st, the ice, which had been all flat the day before and almost level with the water's edge, was now in many places forced higher than the main-yard by the pieces squeezing together..... We had but one alternative; either patiently to wait the event of the weather upon the ships, in hopes of getting them out, or to betake ourselves to the boats. The ships had driven into shoal water, having but fourteen fathom. Should they, or the ice to which they were fast, take the ground, they must be inevitably lost, and probably overset. I thought it proper to send for the officers of both ships, and inform them of my intention of preparing the boats for going away. I immediately hoisted out the boats, and took every precaution in my power to make them secure and comfortable: the fitting would necessarily take up some days.[1]

" On the 7th, in the morning, I set out with the launch over the ice; she hauled much easier than I could have expected; we got her about two miles. I then returned with the people for their dinner.....The people behaved very well in hauling the boat; they seemed reconciled to the idea of quitting the ships, and to have the fullest confidence in their officers. The boats could not with the greatest diligence be got to the water-side before the fourteenth: if the situation of the ships did not alter by that time, I should not be justified in staying longer by them. In the mean time I resolved to carry on both attempts together, moving the boats constantly, but without omitting any opportunity of getting the ships through.

" In the afternoon of August 9th, the fog clearing up, we were agreeably surprised to find the ships had driven much more to the westward. We worked hard all day, and got past the launches. I sent a number of men for them, and got them on board."

The conclusion of Captain Phipps's voyage is well known. This abridged extract from *it will give a clearer idea of the earliest scene of perilous service in which Nelson volun-*

[1] Nelson had the command of the four-oared cutter raised upon (see page 4), which, with the launch, were the boats selected for this service. A view of this scene is given in the Voyage (page 66), drawn by Clevely from an original sketch by Mr. d'Auvergne, now Captain Philip d'Auvergne, Prince of Bouillon; who with Nelson was the only person under age that was received on board. All the original sketches during the voyage were taken by Mr. d'Auvergne, who was also charged with the meteorological register. (*Memoir of Capt. d'Auvergne. Nav. Chron. Vol.* 13.) This officer received the capitulary order of St. Joachim in November 1803.

tarily engaged: whose gratification must have been considerable, when he received the command of the four-oared cutter, with twelve men; for, as he says in his Memoir, which was written long afterwards, " I exerted myself to have the command."

There is also an anecdote recollected by Admiral Lutwidge, which marked the filial attention of his gallant coxswain. Among the gentlemen on the quarter-deck of the Carcass, who were not rated midshipmen, there was, besides young Nelson, a daring shipmate of his to whom he had become attached. One night, during the mid-watch, it was concerted between them that they should steal together from the ship, and endeavour to obtain a bear's skin. The clearness of the nights in those high latitudes rendered the accomplishment of this object extremely difficult: they however seem to have taken advantage of the haze of an approaching fog, and thus to have escaped unnoticed. Nelson in high spirits led the way over the frightful chasms in the ice, armed with a rusty musket. It was not however long before the adventurers were missed by those on board; and, as the fog had come on very thick, the anxiety of Captain Lutwidge and his officers was very great. Between three and four in the morning the mist somewhat dispersed, and the hunters were discovered at a considerable distance, attacking a large bear. The signal was instantly made for their return; but it was in vain that Nelson's companion urged him to obey it. He was at this time divided by a chasm in the ice from his shaggy antagonist, which probably saved his life; for the musket had flashed in the pan, and their ammunition was expended. *Never mind*, exclaimed Horatio, *do but let me get a blow at this devil with the but-end of my musket, and we shall have him.* His companion finding that entreaty was in vain, regained the ship. The captain, seeing the young man's danger, ordered a gun to be fired to terrify the enraged animal. This had the desired effect; but Nelson was obliged to return without his bear, somewhat agitated with the apprehension of the consequence of this adventure. Captain Lutwidge, though he could not but admire so daring a disposition, reprimanded him rather sternly for such rashness, and for conduct so unworthy of the situation he occupied; and desired to know what motive he could have for hunting a bear? Being thought by his captain to have acted in a manner unworthy of his situation, made a deep impression on the high minded coxswain; who, pouting his lip, as he was wont to do when agitated, replied, " Sir, I wished to kill the bear, that I might carry its skin to my father."

On the return of the Racehorse and Carcass to England, they were paid off Oct. 15, 1773; when Mr. Nelson was soon recommended by his uncle to Captain Farmer, of the Sea-horse, 20 guns, attached to the squadron[k] destined for the East Indies, under the

[k] The other ships consisted of the Coventry, 28 guns, Capt. B. Marlow; Dolphin, 24 guns, Sir John Clerke, Knt. Swallow, 16 guns, Capt. James Pigot.

command of Admiral Sir Edward Hughes, with his flag on board the Salisbury, 50 guns, Captain George Robinson Walters. In the Seahorse, Nelson found a sincere friend in the master, the present Captain Surridge; and commenced an intimacy with some of the most valuable of his professional connexions. Previous to the sailing of the squadron, he formed his first acquaintance with a young gentleman on board the Salisbury, the present Admiral Sir Charles Pole; and afterwards became acquainted during the voyage, and his continuance in the East Indies, with Sir Thomas Troubridge, Captain Thomas Bertie, then named Hoare, and several other naval officers.

Nelson was stationed in the foretop of the Seahorse at watch and watch, as it is termed; and his exemplary conduct whilst on that duty, soon attracted the regard of his friend the master of the ship, in whose watch he was. This officer perceiving in the course of a long voyage that the young man was extremely attentive to his duty, and obedient to his superiors, recommended him to the particular notice of Captain Farmer; who then placed him on the quarter-deck, and rated him as midshipman.

After Nelson had thus obtained the first step to rank[l] as an officer in the British navy, he was frequently in fine weather indulged by the officer of the watch to tack the ship, which he performed like a thorough seaman, and gave his orders with all the authority of a lieutenant. His appearance at this time, according to the report of Captain Surridge, was that of a boy with a florid countenance, rather stout and athletic; but unfortunately, when he had been about eighteen months in India, he caught a malignant disorder, which nearly baffled the power of medicine. He was then not only reduced to a mere skeleton, but for some time entirely lost the use of his limbs; and if it had not been, as he acknowledges, for the kindness of Captain Pigot, who brought him home in the Dolphin,[m] his gallant spirit would have been early extinguished. During his continuance in the Seahorse, no person of his years ever paid more attention to the duties of his profession: "His ardent ambition," adds Captain Surridge, "was to make himself thoroughly acquainted with the most minute part of a seaman's duty."

During their return to England, the spirits of young Nelson which were lowered by this severe illness, were frequently much depressed. The busy and interesting scene he had been obliged to forego, and the remembrance of friends whom he had left, altogether weighed so heavily on his mind, as quite to unman him: when one evening the following singular train of thought occurred, as he related it long afterwards to Mr. R. W. Spencer, during their walks amidst the romantic scenery of Downton Castle, the seat of Mr. Knight.

[l] It is a singular fact, and which deserves the attention of our government, that Midshipmen possess only a nominal rank in the service: as they receive no commission they may be disrated at the pleasure of a captain, and be made to serve before the mast.

[m] The Dolphin sailed from the East Indies in 1776.

" I felt impressed with an idea that I should never rise in my profession. My mind was staggered with a view of the difficulties I had to surmount, and the little interest I possessed. I could discover no means of reaching the object of my ambition. After a long and gloomy reverie, in which I almost wished myself overboard, a sudden glow of patriotism was kindled within me, and presented my king and country as my patron. My mind exulted in the idea. " Well then," I exclaimed, " I will be a hero, and confiding in Providence I will brave every danger." The spirit of Nelson revived; and from that hour, in his mind's eye, as he often declared to Captain Hardy, a radiant orb was suspended, which urged him onward to renown.

The humane attention of Captain Pigot, and the change of climate, were of the greatest service to the relaxed constitution of his friend. During his absence from England, Captain Suckling had succeeded Sir Hugh Palliser as comptroller of the navy in April 1775; an event which was favourable to the future prospects of his nephew. The Dolphin was paid off at Woolwich on the 24th of September 1776; and Nelson was immediately appointed by Admiral Sir James Douglas, to act as fourth lieutenant of the Worcester, 64 guns, Captain Mark Robinson,[n] then on the point of sailing with a convoy to Gibraltar.

The testimony which that officer gave to the skill and judgment of Nelson, previous to his obtaining a confirmation of the rank of lieutenant, has been already mentioned by him in his Memoir. On his arrival at Gibraltar with the convoy, he first beheld that sea which was destined to be the principal theatre of his future glory; and from the Worcester, soon after his return to England, he was confirmed in his rank as lieutenant.

Anno Ætat. 19.

The day on which he passed his examination was the 8th of April, 1777. His natural energy and genius were probably not dormant on an event, which called for the talents he possessed, and the experience he had acquired. The following is all that has been remembered by his brother. On being shewn into the room, he at first appeared somewhat alarmed. At the head of the table sat his uncle Maurice, as comptroller of the navy, who had purposely concealed his relationship from the examining captains. When his nephew had recovered from his confusion, his answers were prompt and satisfactory, and indicated the talents he so eminently possessed. The examination ended in a manner very honourable to him: upon which his uncle immediately threw off his reserve; and rising from his seat, introduced his nephew. The examining captains expressed their surprise at his not having informed them of this before. " No," replied the independent comptroller, " I did not wish the younker to be favoured: I felt convinced that he would pass a good examination, and you see, gentlemen, I have not been disappointed." The next day, April 9th, Nelson received his commission as second lieutenant

[n] The first ship which this officer commanded, on being advanced to post rank, August 13, 1760, was the Vanguard; the first ship in which Nelson served as an Admiral, with the command of a squadron.

of the Lowestoffe frigate,[o] 32 guns, Captain William Locker, then fitting out at Sheerness for Jamaica; which not only advanced him to the second step in his profession, but was the means of introducing him to one of his earliest and most valuable friends.

As the first licutenant of the Lowestoffe was absent on leavc, Nelson was soon ordered to the rendezvous for pressed men, which at that time was opened near the Tower; there not being any vessel lying in the river to receive them. During this service he commenced his acquaintance and uninterrupted friendship with the present Lieutenant Bromwich, at that time a midshipman, who afterwards served under him for many years. This officer, who is now warden [p] of the dock-yard at Portsmouth, describes Lieutenant Nelson as being then extremely ill, and so weak that one cold night, whilst they remained on duty near the Tower, Mr. Bromwich was obliged to take him on his back, and carry him instantly to the rendezvous; where his recovery from a fainting fit was for a long time uncertain.

The Lowestoffe sailed from Spithead for the Jamaica station, on the 16th of May, 1777, with the Grasshopper sloop of war, Captain Truscott, to reinforce the squadron under Vice Admiral Clarke Gayton, an old and gallant officer, who had been appointed lieutenant in 1727, when Gibraltar was attacked by the Spaniards. On the 4th of July, the Lowestoffe, Grasshopper, and a convoy of eighteen sail of merchantmen, anchored in Carlisle bay, Barbadoes. On the 7th the Lowestoffe sailed for Jamaica, and arrived on the 19th in Port Royal harbour. The depredations of the Americans, and our inveterate enemy the French with American commissions, called at that time for all the activity of the squadron, and its cruisers were extremely alert. Much credit had been recently acquired by a Mr. Jordan, an acting lieutenant, whom the admiral had appointed to the Racehorse schooner of 10 guns, for his action with a rebel privateer called the Guest, 16 guns and 16 swivels, which, after a contest of upwards of two hours, was resolutely carried by boarding. This circumstance, and the continued insults of our enemies, were not lost on the zealous emulation of Nelson, but rendered even a frigate not sufficiently active for the purposes of his ambition. He therefore got repeatedly appointed to the command of one of the Lowestoffe's tenders; and a similar situation was also given to one of Captain Locker's midshipmen, the present Captain Cunningham, now commissioner of the navy at Woolwich.

It was the happy talent of Lieutenant Nelson, throughout every period of his eventful life, to gain the love and confidence both of his superiors and inferiors: and there cannot

[o] This Lowestoffe was built on the river Thames in 1762. A memoir of Captain Locker was published in the Naval Chronicle (Vol. V. p. 97), with a portrait. He went first to sea in the Lowestoffe, Captain Charles Wyndham, in 1746; and died lieutenant governor of Greenwich Hospital December 26, 1800, aged 70.

[p] A place which he obtained through the interest of his noble friend.

be a greater proof of this, than the following letter,[q] which he addressed, during one of their cruises, to Captain Locker; whose state of health was more precarious than his own.

"MY MOST WORTHY FRIEND, Lowestoffe at sea, August 12, 1777.

"I AM exceedingly obliged to you for the good opinion you entertain of me, and will do my utmost that you may have no occasion to change it. I hope God Almighty will be pleased to spare your life, for your own sake, and that of your family: but should any thing happen to you (which I sincerely pray to God may not), you may be assured that nothing shall be wanting on my part for the taking care of your effects, and delivering safe to Mrs. Locker such of them as may be thought proper not to be disposed of. You mentioned the word *Consolation* in your letter—I shall have a very great one, when I think I have served faithfully the best of friends, and the most amiable of women.

"All the services I can render to your family, you may be assured shall be done, and shall never end but with my life; and may God Almighty of his great goodness keep, bless, and preserve you, and your family, is the most fervent prayer of your faithful servant,

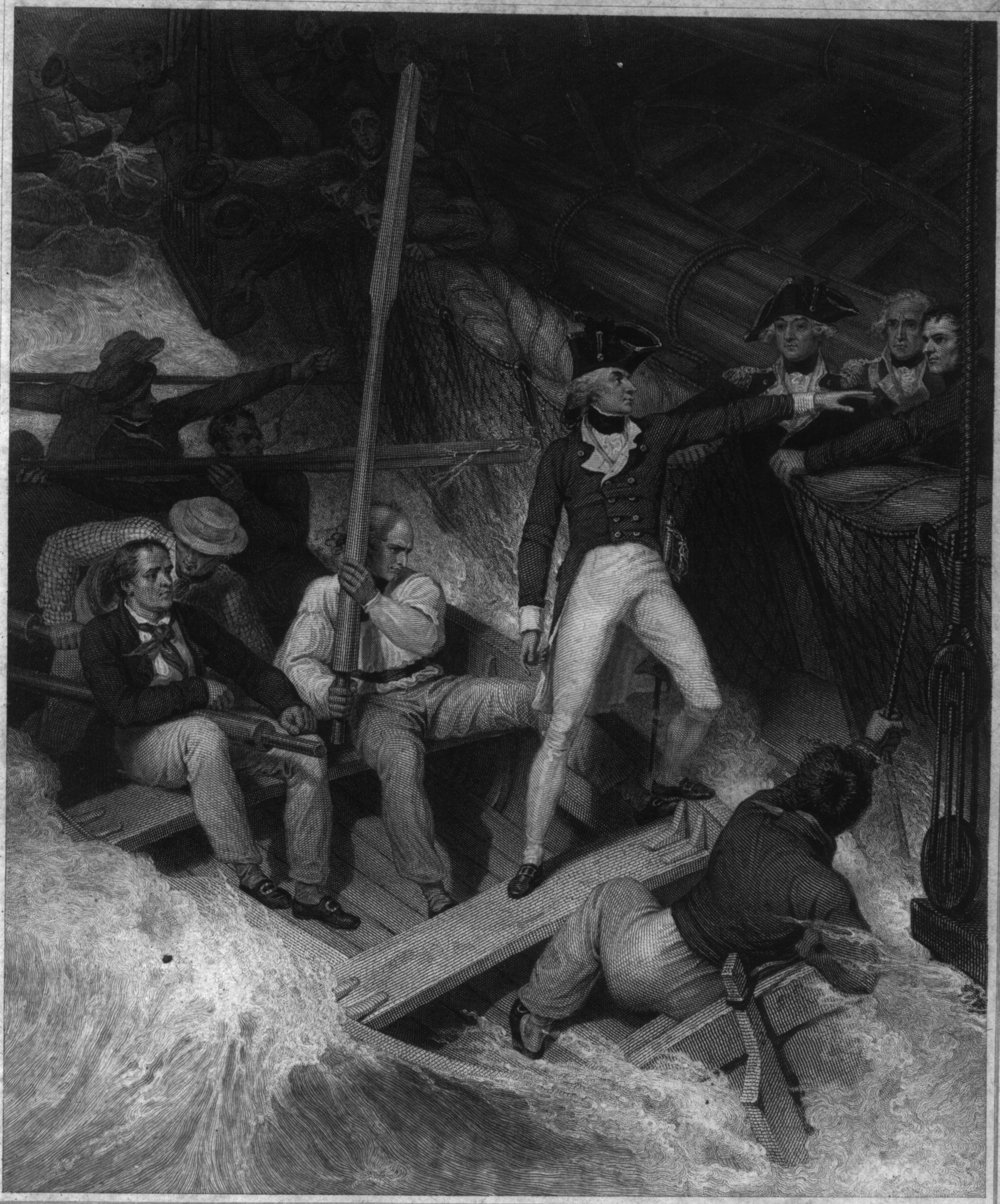
HORATIO NELSON."

On the 26th of August, the Lowestoffe, and Gayton tender, took an American sloop laden with rice, and returned to Port Royal on the 1st of October to refit; whence they again sailed the 6th of November, on a second cruise; and on the 20th, between Cape Maize and Cape Nichola, took[r] the American letter of marque.

In the anecdote which Nelson has given of himself in his memoir, when sent to board this vessel, his memory seems in a slight degree to have failed him. This error has been corrected through the information of Lieutenant Bromwich, who, with the present Captain Thomas Dundas, was at that time a midshipman on board the Lowestoffe. The first lieutenant alluded to, at present an admiral of the retired list, never left the ship. On receiving his captain's orders to board the prize, he went below to put on his hanger; the hanger was mislaid, and could not immediately be found: in the mean time, Captain Locker came on deck, extremely anxious that the prize should be instantly taken in charge, as he apprehended it must otherwise founder. Perceiving, to his astonishment, that the Lowestoffe's boat was still alongside, and in danger of being every moment swamped from the heavy sea that was running, he exclaimed, "Have I no officer in the ship who can board the prize?" Lieutenant Nelson, with his usual goodness of heart, still waited for the return of his superior officer: but, on hearing the master volunteer his services, he

[q] Captain Locker's collection of letters, belonging to his son, Edward Hawke Locker, Esq. now secretary to Admiral Sir Edward Pellew, Bart. Commander in Chief in the East Indies.

[r] See the Memoir, (p. 5).



Painted by R Westall R A *Engraved by A Rembach*

LIEUTENANT NELSON VOLUNTEERING TO BOARD A PRIZE IN A VIOLENT GALE, NOV.R 20.TH 1777.

London Published by Cadell & Davies Strand. 1809

immediately hastened to the gangway; and, getting into the boat, said, " It is my turn now, and if I come back, it is yours." The American was so completely water-logged from having carried an heavy press of sail, that Nelson's boat went in on deck, and out again with the scud. When he at length got on board, he was long separated from the Lowestoffe by the gale; and for some time Captain Locker felt very uneasy for his safety.

On the 9th of December, 1777, the Lowestoffe sailed a second time from Port Royal, on a cruise between the northern side of Hispaniola and the Bahama Keys. During this cruise Lieutenant Nelson took the command of another tender, which had been captured by the Lowestoffe, and was called the little Lucy after a daughter of Captain Locker. They cruised until the 31st of the month, when the Lowestoffe returned to Port Royal to heave down, and new-sheath her bottom; a custom which was then yearly observed by every ship on that station. Whilst this was doing, Lieutenant Nelson remained at sea in the little Lucy; and on the 9th of February, when off the West Corcos, sent the following short account to Captain Locker of a prize which he had taken: " I am happy in having an opportunity of writing by Mr. Ellis, who comes down in the Abigail schooner from François, bound to Nantucket. We took her this morning at four o'clock, after a chase of eight hours. We are just come to an anchor; and the wind is got to the northward, so that I must conclude, as we are now weighing. Pray give my compliments to my messmates."

Admiral Sir Peter Parker having been appointed to succeed Admiral Gayton, arrived at Port Royal March 3, 1778. On the 6th of May following, the Lowestoffe sailed on her third cruise, with the Lucy tender in company. On the 27th they chased a strange ship and schooner, in the Corcos passage; and on coming up they spoke the former, and found her to be the Inconstant French frigate, commanded by the *Chevalier de Cuverville*, who seemed to be convoying an American schooner, as was then the custom with the French, though at peace with England. Lieutenant Nelson immediately determined to examine the schooner, though actually under the very muzzle of the frigate's guns, and accordingly stood with the little Lucy ahead of the Lowestoffe. A volley of small arms was suddenly poured by the frigate into the tender, when Captain Locker threw out her signal to come under the Lowestoffe's stern: upon which Nelson hoisted out his boat, and eagerly asked his captain, " If it would not be advisable to bring the tender's men on board, as a brush with the Inconstant seemed inevitable."—" At all events," replied Captain Locker, " I am determined to examine the schooner." The Chevalier, perceiving they were resolutely bent on doing this, refrained from any further resistance. The schooner was accordingly examined, and proved to be French property.

On the 17th of June in the same year, 1778, dispatches were brought out in the Bristol

to Captain Locker; in consequence of which Lieutenant Nelson and his men were removed from the tender into the Lowestoffe, and on the 24th they returned to Port Royal. The increasing ill health of Captain Locker afforded but a faint hope, that he would be able to enjoy the benefit of a French war in the West Indies.

Through the zealous friendship of this officer, who loved Nelson like one of his own children, the patronage of Admiral Sir Peter Parker[r] had been secured, on his succeeding Admiral Gayton. At the request of Captain Locker, Lieutenant Nelson was now appointed third of the flag ship the Bristol; and was succeeded in the Lowestoffe by Lieutenant Cuthbert Collingwood, from the Hornet sloop. The patronage of so valuable a friend as Commander in chief, was at that time of the greatest importance to Lieutenant Nelson; who in the month of July had lost his uncle, Captain Maurice Suckling. The zealous and active disposition of Nelson soon recommended him to the particular notice of the worthy admiral, at whose house he became a welcome guest. In Lady Parker he found a second mother; and his merit soon advanced him to be first lieutenant of the flag ship. When writing to Captain Locker, he thus expresses his gratitude: " Your goodness to me has been more than I expected, or had any right to think on. The men you mentioned I should be happy to have with me, as the one is very assiduous, the other, as you know, one of my favourites. One of these days we shall meet."—In another letter to the same, he adds, " Poor Captain Williams died about ten days ago of a broken heart. The tender that was sent after the Æolus is also taken. Our people were not permitted to see either the officers or seamen of the ships. They say that there are upwards of three hundred seamen in their jails. May health, and one of the French frigates attend you, is the sincere wish of yours faithfully, HORATIO NELSON."

On the 5th of September, the Bristol, Captain Caulfield, in company with the Lowestoffe, Captain Locker, and some other ships, sailed from Port Royal, and cruised off Cape François until the 17th of October. During this cruise the squadron took seventeen sail of French St. Domingo ships. On the 8th of December, 1778, Nelson terminated his services as Lieutenant, on board the flag ship of Sir Peter Parker, and was again succeeded by Lieutenant Collingwood.[s]

Captain Nelson's promotion to the rank of Commander took place at this time on his being appointed to the Badger brig; and as Captain Locker did not leave Jamaica for England, on account of his health, until the ensuing year, 1779, he must have witnessed the rapid success of his endeavours to serve this officer.

[r] Sir Peter Parker, created a baronet in 1782, succeeded Earl Howe in 1799 as Admiral of the Fleet.

[s] The present Admiral Lord Collingwood. Lieutenants Macnamara, Nelson, and Collingwood, were all made commanders out of the Bristol within seven or eight months of each other. Captain Macnamara, who afterwards went into France with Captain Nelson, died an Admiral about five years since.

Anno Ætat. 21.

The personal appearance of Captain Nelson at this period of his life, owing to his delicate health and diminutive figure, was far from expressing the greatness of his intellectual powers. From his earliest years, like Cleomenes the hero of Sparta, he had been enamoured of glory, and had possessed a greatness of mind. Nelson preserved also a similar temperance and simplicity of manners. Nature, as Plutarch adds of the noble Spartan, had given a spur[t] to his mind, which rendered him impetuous in the pursuit of whatever he deemed honourable. The demeanour of this extraordinary young man was entirely the demeanour of a British seaman: when the energies of his mind were not called forth by some object of duty, or professional interest, he seemed to retire within himself, and to care but little for the refined courtesies of polished life. In his dress he had all the cleanliness of an Englishman, though his manner of wearing it gave him an air of negligence; and yet his general address and conversation, when he wished to please, possessed a charm that was irresistible.

At the time of Nelson's appointment to the Lowestoffe, and the confirmation of his rank as lieutenant, Captain Maurice Suckling had drawn up for the use of his nephew, some admirable instructions relative to his conduct and professional duties. This interesting manuscript, of which only a very inconsiderable part has been recovered, was seen in the Lowestoffe by Mr. Bromwich,[u] who also remembers the following introductory passage:

"My dear Horatio, Pay every respect to your superior officers, as you shall wish to receive respect yourself."

The Rev. Edmund Nelson had also early impressed the mind of his son, as may be seen from the first letter to Captain Locker, with an high sense of an overruling Providence, and of the sublime principles of christianity. This sense, preserved by an affectionate correspondence[v] between the father and his gallant son, laid the foundation of Nelson's character and fame on a wide and solid basis, and gave peculiar value to his friendship, his valour, and his patriotism.

[t] Κεντρον τι θυμω τη φυσει προσεκειτο, και μετα σφοδροτητος ορμη προς το φαινομενον αει καλον. Plutarchi Cleomenes.

[u] Lieutenant Bromwich copied that part of the instructions which related to the management of a ship; and, it being the only remnant of the manuscript, it is inserted in the Appendix, N° 2.

[v] None of these letters have been found: their tenor however may be judged of by others at a later period, which are inserted.

END OF THE FIRST BOOK.

H.M.S. CAPTAIN, BOARDING THE SAN NICOLAS & SAN JOSEF.

Painted by N. Pocock. *Published Nov.r 16. 1808. by T. Cadell & W. Davies, Strand.* *Engraved by J. Fittler.*

BOOK THE SECOND.

From 1778 *to* 1797.

THE eventful period, on which we are now entering, requires to be elucidated by every document that may throw light on those occurrences which have had such an effect on the general aspect of Europe. The connexion of our American colonies with the mother country was at length destroyed by the assistance and machinations of France, insidiously conducted by her marine minister, M. de Sartine: who thus unwarily prepared the misfortunes and ruin of his own monarch; and was, in great measure, the cause of that political earthquake which has since destroyed the independence of nations, and shaken the pillars of the civilized world.

Thus arose that great contest between a commercial and a military power, on the result of which so much of the happiness and liberty of mankind in general eventually depends. The navy of Great Britain, at length deservedly esteemed the natural support of its country's independence, became the only barrier which afflicted Europe could oppose to the overwhelming and devastating ambition of France: and consequently the dignity, and importance of our naval power, began to bear down the obstacles, and to abate the prejudices, which originated in the infatuation of statesmen.

In the year 1778, with which our second period commences, the Country lost one of its ablest and most sanguine supporters, by the death of Lord Chatham; whose last words breathed that decided antigallican spirit which survived in Nelson. After reprobating the treacherous conduct of France, that dying patriot exclaimed, with a blaze of eloquence, *Can we, my lords, forget that we are Englishmen? If France and Spain are for war, why not try the issue? If we fall in the contest, we shall fall honourably, and like men. Shall Englishmen suffer the insults of France with dastardly pusillanimity? This, my lords, is not the language of a Briton: it never shall be my language!*

Our naval force, according to the opinion of this able statesman, was not at that time sufficiently powerful. He declared "that our coasts were daily insulted, and that our merchant ships were destitute of protection." It had however been moved at the opening of parliament, Nov. 7, 1777, that sixty thousand seamen, including eleven thousand eight hundred and twenty-nine marines, should be employed for the year 1778; and the grants of that session for the Navy amounted to 5,001,895*l.* 16*s.* Lord Sandwich presided at the board of Admiralty, of which Admiral Sir Hugh Palliser, an officer who in many respects resembled Nelson, was one of the junior lords. Many additional ships of the line were commissioned: but, owing to the want of American seamen, to whom it had hitherto been the custom to resort, considerable difficulties occurred in procuring men. After long consideration, and with much reluctance from the party which then prevailed, Admiral Keppel was appointed to command the western squadron. The war commenced without any public official declaration from either government: except that, on the 18th of March, (the day after the French declaration of a treaty of commerce with the Americans had been presented to the house of commons,) the French had issued an order to seize all British ships that were in their ports; and on the 27th, an embargo had been laid by the English ministry on French vessels. Rear Admiral Duff was sent to the Mediterranean, Rear Admiral Barrington to the Leeward Islands, and Vice Admiral Byron, on Lord Howe's desiring to be recalled from America, was appointed to succeed him on that station. Such was the general state of naval affairs, when the second part of the following memoir, written by Lord Nelson, commences.

LORD NELSON'S MEMOIR OF HIS SERVICES,

PART II.

"On the 8th of December, 1778, I was appointed as commander of the Badger brig; and was first sent to protect the Mosquito shore and the bay of Honduras, from the depredations of the American privateers. Whilst on this service, I gained so much the affections of the settlers, that they unanimously voted me their thanks, and expressed their regret on my leaving them; intrusting to me to describe to Sir Peter Parker and Sir John Dalling their situation, should a war with Spain break out. Whilst I commanded this brig, H. M. S. Glasgow, Captain Thomas Lloyd, came into Montego Bay, Jamaica, where the Badger was lying: in two hours afterwards she took fire by a cask of rum; and Captain Lloyd will tell you, that it was owing to my exertions, joined to his, that her whole crew were rescued from the flames.

"On the 11th of June, 1779, I was made Post into the Hinchinbrook. When, being at sea, and Count d'Estaing arriving at Hispaniola with a very large fleet and army from Martinico, an attack on Jamaica was expected. In this critical state, I was by both Admiral and General intrusted with the command of the batteries at Port Royal: and I need not say, as this place was the key to the whole naval force, the town of Kingston, and Spanish Town, the defence of it was the most important post in the whole island.

"In January, 1780, an expedition being resolved on against St. Juan's, I was chosen to direct the sea part of it. Major Polson, who commanded, will tell you of my exertions: how I quitted my ship, carried troops in boats an hundred miles up a river, which none but Spaniards since the time of the buccaneers had ever ascended; it will then be told how I boarded, if I may be allowed the expression, an out-post of the enemy, situated on an island in the river; that I made batteries, and after-

wards fought them, and was a principal cause of our success. From this scene I was appointed to the Janus, 44, at Jamaica, and went to Port Royal in the Victor sloop.

" My state of health was now so bad, that I was obliged to go to England in the Lion, Hon. W. Cornwallis, Captain; whose care and attention again saved my life. In August, 1781, I was commissioned for the Albemarle; and, it would almost be supposed, to try my constitution, was kept the whole winter in the North Sea. In April, 1782, I sailed with a convoy for Newfoundland and Quebec, under the orders of Captain Thomas Pringle. From Quebec, during a cruise off Boston, I was chased by three French ships of the line, and the Iris frigate: as they all beat me in sailing very much, I had no chance left, but running them amongst the shoals of St. George's Bank. This alarmed the line of battle ships, and they quitted the pursuit; but the frigate continued, and at sun-set was little more than gun-shot distant: when, the line of battle ships being out of sight, I ordered the main-top-sail to be laid to the mast; on this the frigate tacked, and stood to rejoin her consorts.

" In October I sailed from Quebec with a convoy to New York, where I joined the fleet under the command of Lord Hood; and in November I sailed with him to the West Indies, where I remained till the peace; when I came to England, being directed in my way to attend H. R. H. the Duke of Clarence on his visit to the Havannah; and was paid off at Portsmouth on July the third, 1783. In the autumn I went to France, and remained there till the spring of the year 1784; when I was appointed to the Boreas frigate, of 28 guns, and ordered to the Leeward Island station.

" This station opened a new scene to the officers of the British navy. The Americans, when colonists, possessed almost all the trade from America to our West India islands: and on the return of peace, they forgot, on this occasion, that they became foreigners, and of course had no right to trade in the British colonies. Our governors and custom-house

officers pretended, that by the Navigation Act they had a right to trade; and all the West Indians wished what was so much for their interest.

" Having given governors, custom-house officers, and Americans, notice of what I would do, I seized many of their vessels, which brought all parties upon me; and I was persecuted from one island to another, so that I could not leave my ship. But conscious rectitude bore me through it; and I was supported, when the business came to be understood, from home: and I proved, and an act of parliament has since established it, that a captain of a man of war is in duty bound to support all the maritime laws, by his admiralty commission alone, without becoming a custom-house officer.

" In July, 1786, I was left with the command till June, 1787, when I sailed for England. During the winter H. R. H. the Duke of Clarence visited the Leeward Islands in the Pegasus frigate, of which he was Captain. And in March, this year, I married Frances Herbert Nisbet, widow of Doctor Nisbet, of the island of Nevis; by whom I have no children.

" The Boreas being paid off at Sheerness, on November the 30th, I lived at Burnham Thorpe, county of Norfolk, in the parsonage-house. In 1790, when the affair with Spain, relative to Nootka Sound, had nearly involved us in a war, I made use of every interest to get a ship, aye, even a boat to serve my Country, but in vain: there was a prejudice at the Admiralty evidently against me, which I can neither guess at, nor in the least account for . . . . .

" On the 30th of January, 1793, I was commissioned in the handsomest way for the Agamemnon, 64 guns; and was put under the command of that great man and excellent officer, Lord Hood, appointed to the command in the Mediterranean. The unbounded confidence on all occasions placed in me by his Lordship, will shew his opinion of my abilities; having served in the command of the seamen landed for the sieges of Bastia and Calvi. His lordship in October, 1794, left the

Mediterranean to Admiral Hotham, who also honoured me with the same confidence. I was in the actions of the 13th and 14th of March, 1795, and 13th of July in the same year. For the share I had in them, I refer to the Admiralty letters. I was then appointed by Admiral Hotham to co-operate with the Austrian General De Vins, which I did all the time Admiral Hotham retained the command, till November; when he was superseded by Sir John Jervis, now Earl St. Vincent.

" In April, 1796, the commander in chief so much approved my conduct, that he directed me to wear a distinguishing pendant. In June I was removed from the Agamemnon to the Captain; and on the 11th of August had a Captain appointed under me. Between April and October, 1796, I was employed in the blockade of Leghorn, taking Porto Ferraio, the Island of Caprea, and finally in the evacuation of Bastia: when having seen the troops in safety to Porto Ferraio, I joined the Admiral in St. Fiorenzo bay, and proceeded with him to Gibraltar; whence in December I was sent in la Minerve frigate, Captain George Cockburn, to Porto Ferraio to bring down our naval stores, &c. On the passage we captured a Spanish frigate, La Sabina, of 40 guns, 28 eighteen pounders on her main deck, as will appear by my letter.

" For an account of what passed from our sailing from Porto Ferraio on the 29th of January, 1797, to the finish of the action, on the 14th of February, I refer to the account published by Colonel Drinkwater. The King for my conduct gave me a gold medal, and the city of London a gold box."

BOOK THE SECOND.

SECTION I.

From 1778 *to* 1783.

WHILST SERVING ON BOARD HIS MAJESTY'S SHIPS BADGER, HINCHINBROOK, JANUS, AND ALBEMARLE.

Anno Ætat. 21.

It has been already mentioned, that Captain Maurice Suckling died in the month of July, 1778, during the time his nephew had been thus actively employed as a lieutenant in the West Indies. Captain Suckling, for three weeks previous to his death, was attended by Nelson's father; and their conversation one day turned upon the future prospects of their relation: "At all events," said Captain Suckling, "we have made the young man a lieutenant, and he will now fight his way along: it was my intention to have left him equally with the rest of your children, five hundred pounds; but I will send for my lawyer,[x] and do something more for poor Horace. Do not fear, brother; your son will never want friends." Soon after this, Captain Suckling experienced so severe a relapse, as to render it impossible for him to execute his intentions; which were soon entirely frustrated by death. His sword, which Nelson afterwards so much valued, became the property of his liberal friend, Mr. William Suckling, of the Custom-house, and was by him presented to the Captain on his return to England. The history of this sword is curious, but very difficult to ascertain. It was the opinion of a person, now dead, who was well acquainted with the Walpole family, that this sword originally belonged to the gallant Galfridus Walpole; who on the 26th of March, 1711, lost his right arm in the Mediterranean, when commanding the Lion of 60 guns, in an action with four French ships, each mounting 60 guns. On marrying a Walpole, Captain Maurice Suckling is thought to have received this sword. His gallant nephew, from the time he possessed it, wore it constantly when on service, and considered it as an old and faithful servant, that would never fail to support him in battle:

. . . . . 'Hoc decus illi,
Hoc solamen erat; bellis hoc victor abibat
Omnibus.' (Æneid. 10.)

Captain Nelson remained so short a time a Commander in the Badger brig, to which he had been appointed at the beginning of December, 1778, that his name was never

[x] A blank was in consequence left in the Will, owing to which nothing was in fact bequeathed to Horatio Nelson; however, from the liberality of Mr. Suckling, he received the same as the other children.

inserted in any of the printed lists. His services from that time, to his being made post into the Hinchinbrook, on the 11th of June, 1779, were confined at first, as he informs us in his memoir, to the Mosquito shore, and the bay of Honduras; whence he returned with the unanimous thanks of the settlers. He was afterwards employed in protecting the north side of Jamaica from the depredations of privateers; and the following letters to Captain Locker give some account of the proceedings of the Badger, whilst on that station.

The first,[y] in which mention is made of a prize that had been taken by the Badger, is dated off the N. E. end of Jamaica, April 30, 1779. "I hope, my dear Sir, with all my heart, you are much better than when I left you, and that you will not be obliged to go home on account of your health. I sincerely wish it was in my power to shew some small return, for the very many favours I have received: but I am sure you do not think me ungrateful. If you come on the north side, and I hear of it, I will come in. I know you will be pleased with this little earnest of success: but we have had a good deal of plague with her, and were two days before we could find the French papers: at last we found them in an old shoe. There is a polacre expected this way, which I also hope we shall fall in with."—In the next letter,[z] dated May 3d, he adds: "Since I wrote last, we had very nearly taken a schooner privateer: but it coming calm she rowed off. We have no accounts here of any ships being cut out; but I shall sail in the morning, and keep a sharp look out, and hope the next we see, we shall be able to get alongside of. I am much obliged to you for taking care of Silvan: do as you please with him. May health, happiness, and every blessing attend you, is the real sincere wish of your much obliged and faithful servant, Horatio Nelson."

On his return from this cruise, being in want of men, he involved himself in some perplexity, by pressing a few hands from a vessel called the Amity Hall; and as this had given uneasiness to his friend, Captain Locker, it produced the following[a] explanation: "I am very sorry, my dear Sir, that I made you so uneasy about the men pressed from the Amity Hall; but I will relate the story, in particular for Mr. Taylor's satisfaction, whom I should be very sorry to disoblige, as he has been so exceedingly civil to me; and also upon your account.

"When I first saw the ships in Port Antonio, I took them for part of the Cork fleet, and sent the boat for men, with orders not to press from homeward bound ships: they went on board two, and did not meddle with their people; but thirty-five men on board the Amity Hall tempted them to bring five. I was not pleased when they were brought on board, and came into port on purpose to return them; for I had not a thought of

[y] Captain Locker's collection of letters. [z] Ibid. [a] Ibid. Badger, May 13, 1779.

keeping any of them. The master came on board in a most impertinent manner, and, with very abusive language, told me he should take the law. I cannot say but I was warm to be talked to in such a manner. However, I immediately returned two men and a neutral; but told him I should keep the other two, for his improper behaviour: this is all the matter. If you tell the story, I beg you will mention, that the master forgot to advertise, that he had on board two deserters from the Badger. I am afraid the Admiral has got the wrong end of the story: if you think proper, mention the truth. The master is coming on board, so I must stop a little . . . . . He is just gone, and I never was more surprised, than at his denying the advertisement. He has begged my pardon for his behaviour, and we have parted very good friends: though I believe all he has told me is false.

" Since I wrote last I have lost a very fine brig, which we chased twenty leagues to leeward of the island; and lost, I am sure, for want of a night-glass. I see you are quite settled about going home; which in all probability may happen before you can hear from me again: but I shall always write to you in England. The friendship you have shewn me, I shall never forget; and though I lose my best friend by your going, I would not have you stay a day longer in this country. I am very sorry indeed, that Captain Dean is ill; give my best wishes for his speedy recovery. May health and happiness attend you." [b]

His humanity and presence of mind were soon after this particularly noticed, whilst the Badger was at anchor in Montego Bay, Jamaica. Early in the ensuing month of June 1779, his Majesty's ship Glasgow, 20 guns, commanded by Captain Lloyd, took fire soon after she had come to an anchor in the same bay. Captain Nelson immediately manned the Badger's boats, and forced the crew of the Glasgow, who had thrown themselves into the sea, to return to their ship. He then directed them to throw their powder overboard, and to point their guns upwards. Owing to this resolute conduct, no lives, except that of the master, were lost: but the ship was burnt to the water's edge. On the 7th of June, he sent the following account of what had passed to Captain Locker,[c] dated off St. Anne's.

" I suppose, before this, you have heard of the fate of the poor Glasgow; indeed it was a most shocking sight; and had it happened half an hour later, in all probability a great many people would have been lost. She anchored at half past three; and at six she was in flames, owing to the steward's attempting to steal rum out of the after-hold. Captain Lloyd is very melancholy indeed on the occasion; and I sincerely wish I was at Port Royal for his sake, and that of the ship's company, who are falling sick very fast with the

[b] Captain Locker's collection of letters.

[c] Ibid.

constant rains we have had since we left Montego Bay: and we have no place on board the Badger to shelter such a number of men. I suppose I have letters at Port Antonio from you, but I have not been there these three posts; and am much afraid I shall be obliged to go round the west end, and attempt the south side; the current having set us nine leagues to leeward these last twenty-four hours, although we have had favourable winds. I beg you will remember me very kindly to Mr. Ross, and Captain Deane, who I hope is got well. May health and happiness attend you.'

It was in the year 1779, and probably about this time, that Captain Nelson first became acquainted with that enterprising and gallant officer the honourable Captain William Cornwallis; who has thus retraced the origin of their acquaintance: "His attention to me was, I believe, in consequence of the late Captain Walter Young, who might perhaps have said something in my favour to Nelson, when a lad: Captain Young had formerly served with Captain Suckling, and was afterwards five years a Lieutenant with me in the Guadaloupe: he was well known to be a most excellent officer, and I always found him a most honourable and disinterested man. From his advice and instruction it is probable that Nelson early learnt to despise mercenary objects, and to turn his thoughts wholly to glorious deeds; in which he succeeded beyond all example."

In about a twelvemonth after the commencement of hostilities with France, her adepts in diplomacy succeeded in irritating the wretched government of Spain; which led her into a war with Great Britain, though contrary to the interests, and even the inclination of the Court of Madrid. The Spanish Ambassador accordingly received orders to return, having first presented a Manifesto, dated London, June 16, 1779; which was the next day laid before both Houses of Parliament. On the 19th a Proclamation was issued for making reprisals on Spain; and on the 13th of July, an admirable answer to the Manifesto was transmitted to their Ambassador, the Marquis D'Almodovar, by Lord Weymouth.

Amidst the various means that were employed to call forth the energy and daring spirit of the nation, the noble conduct of his Majesty cannot be passed by unnoticed; who, on the 15th of June, entered his third son, Prince William Henry, now Duke of Clarence, as a Midshipman in the royal navy: which produced the following encomium from the Spanish Admiral Langara:[d] "Well does Great Britain merit the Empire of the Sea, when the humblest stations in her Navy are supported by Princes of the Blood."

[d] During the month of January, 1780. This anecdote, mentioned by Colonel Drinkwater in his history of the Siege of Gibraltar, (page 90) is not there quite correctly stated. Prince William did not inform Don Juan that his boat was ready; nor was his royal Highness then on board.

On the 11th of June, 1779, three days previous to his Royal Highness' being entered a midshipman on board the Prince George, Admiral Digby, his future friend, Captain Nelson, was made Post into the Hinchinbrook, 28 guns; one of the enemy's merchantmen, sheathed with wood, that had been taken, and purchased into our service. Captain Nelson was at sea in this ship, when the arrival of Count d'Estaing at Hispaniola from Martinico, with a powerful fleet and army, threatened the safety of Jamaica. With his usual zeal, Nelson immediately proffered his services both to the Admiral, and Governor General Dalling; and was accordingly appointed to command the important batteries at Port Royal. In a letter [e] to Captain Locker, dated from that place, Aug. 12th, the measures are described that had been taken to secure Jamaica.

"Jamaica is turned upside down since you left it. The Count d'Estaing is at the Cape with twenty sail of the line; and a flag ship, with eight or nine more, are at Port-au-Prince: the latter fleet fell in with the Charon and Pomona in the night, but they got off by good sailing: they say that there are twenty thousand men at the Cape ready to embark, and five thousand at Port-au-Prince. He arrived at the Cape last Saturday fortnight with one hundred and twenty-five sail, men of war and transports, and passed Captain Lambert's squadron, which arrived here yesterday, in a very thick day; so that all our ships are in port, except the Hinchinbrook, Hound, and Porcupine, which we have reason to believe are taken, as reports are very strong from the Bahama Islands.—Now I have told you what we may expect, I will tell you the measures taken to defend the island. Five thousand men are encamped between the ferry and Kingston, one thousand in Fort Augusta, three hundred at the Apostles Battery, and we expect to have five hundred in Fort Charles. Lion, Salisbury, Charon, and Janus, are in a line from the Point to the outer Shoal; Ruby and Bristol are in the Narrows going to Kingston, to rake any ships that may attack Fort Augusta; the Pomona, and Speke Indiaman above Rock Fort, and Lowestoffe at the end of the Dock-wall. Expresses go to-morrow morning to all quarters. Resource and Penelope are to cruise off the east end. Four fire-ships are down here, two of them commissioned.

"I have fairly stated our situation; and I leave you in England to judge what stand we shall make. I think you must not be surprised to hear of my learning to speak French. I hope you have had a good passage, and are now in peace and plenty with your family. Ross [f] has behaved in a very public spirited manner; he has sent the Gayton, and his vessels to the admiral, and even his negroes into the batteries. I know we shall have your wishes for success. May health, peace, and happiness, always surround you

[e] Captain Locker's collection.

[f] Hercules Ross, Esq.

and your good family, to whom I beg to be kindly remembered, is the constant wish of your devoted humble servant, Horatio Nelson."

Notwithstanding the force collected by d'Estaing, and which if it had been brought against Jamaica with the promptness and skill of a Nelson, might have inflicted a severe blow on our West India colonies, nothing was done by the enemy. General Dalling, therefore, was left at liberty[g] to execute a plan, which originated in himself, and had been highly approved of by Lord George Germain, then Secretary of State for the American department; to take Fort San Juan, on the Rio San Juan, which runs from the great American lake Nicaragua into the Atlantic, and thus to obtain possession of the cities of Granada and Leon: by which means the communication of the Spaniards would have been cut off between their northern and southern dominions in America.

The command of the naval force was given to Captain Nelson, and that of the troops to Captain John Polson.[h] The following letter[i] to Captain Locker, dated Port Royal, January 23, 1780, notices this appointment. "I sailed in the Hinchinbrook from Port Royal in the middle of September (1779) to join the Niger and Penelope. We took four sail, for which I shall share about eight hundred pounds sterling. You, and many others, will be very sorry to hear of the death of that worthy good man, Captain Joseph Deane. He died on the 12th of January, and was buried the next day at Green Bay,[k] amidst the tears of his officers and ship's company, and his many friends. . . . . Our mess is broke up: Captain Cornwallis and myself live together. I trust I have made a friend of him; which I am sure, from his character, you will be glad to hear.

"The Admiral says he will give me the first frigate: he has appointed me to go with an Expedition, which is now on foot, against the city of Granada, upon the lake of Nicaragua: how it will turn out, God knows! I do not expect to return before the beginning of June. Collingwood desires to be very particularly remembered to you, and Mrs. Locker. The Admiral sails with the fleet on Tuesday next the 25th of January, to meet, if he can, the Count de Grasse; who has been cruising these some weeks past, between Capes Nichola and Maize, with five sail of the line. You must not be surprised to see me in England after this trip; for if my health is not much better than it is at present, I shall

[g] It is a singular circumstance, and one that has been noticed by Mr. Macpherson in his late valuable Annals of Commerce, that the planters, and others concerned in the island of Jamaica, should have taken this opportunity to present a petition to the House of Commons, February 10, and another to the House of Lords, February 21; wherein they represented, "that Jamaica was totally destitute of defence, and owed its being a British colony to the mere accident of the forces of the enemy being directed to another object."

[h] Who had, for that service, the brevet rank of Major; now Colonel Polson.

[i] Captain Locker's collection.

[k] A burying-place for seamen in Jamaica.

certainly come home: all the doctors are against my staying so long in this country. You know my old complaint in my breast? it is turned out to be the gout got there. Cuba, and all your acquaintance in this part of the world desire to be kindly remembered to you, and none more so than Captain Cornwallis, who has, I assure you, a very high esteem for your character. Glover is very ill; I hardly think he will get over this cruise. I have been twice given over, since you left this country, with that horrid disorder the gout. I must now bid you adieu; wishing you every thing you can desire in this life."

Anno Ætat. 22.

Captain Nelson's orders from the Admiral were strictly confined to the convoy of the transports to the Spanish main, and the landing of the troops; after which he was to leave the Expedition to Captain Polson. Jealousies, such as often render our best concerted plans ineffectual, had not been dormant on this occasion. But Nelson, who was insensible to every thing that did not promote the glory of his country, on reaching the Spanish main, found it absolutely necessary to take an active part. The following plan of operations, drawn up by General Dalling, has been found amongst the Nelson Papers; and forms a valuable document respecting this expedition.

'In order to give a facility to the great object of government, and to fulfil that which is incumbent upon me, I intend to possess the Lake of Nicaragua, by means of our first conquest; which, for the present, may in some degree be looked upon as the inland Gibraltar of Spanish America. As it commands the only water pass between the Lake of Nicaragua, and the Northern Ocean, its situation must ever render it a principal post to insure success to our troops forcing their passage to the South Sea, and by our possession of it, Spanish America is severed in two. In this post, therefore, I mean to keep a grand deposit of provisions, and reinforce it occasionally with a respectable body of regulars, as soon as the troops arrive.

'On a supposition, that it will be too hazardous to attempt for the present the possession of the Lake from San Juans, my next design will be to seize on the only possible land carriage, that can be, between the Lake of Nicaragua, and the Atlantic; by opening a road, and sending a body of Indians from Bluefields towards Mena, on the Lake. Previous, however, to attempting this last service, the minds of the Indians must be again conciliated, past griefs allayed, and their old attachments revived: this to be

The command of this expedition was originally destined for General Garth, accompanied by his brother, at present aid de camp to his Majesty: The present Earl of Harrington to be second in command, with his own regiment, in which were Lord Mulgrave, Major Richard Crewe, the Hon. General Paulet, Lord Henry Fitzgerald, the Hon. Henry Lascelles, the Hon. Frederick, now General St. John, and many others. Dr. Moseley was appointed Surgeon General of the expedition, but remained with the army in Jamaica.

brought about by plenty of presents. Bluefields harbour, and island, must be put in a state of defence: this may be more easily effected, as the water upon the bar will not admit large vessels, it consequently is not exposed to the fire from heavy shipping. Bluefields river is navigable for forty miles; and, from the falls in the river, to Mena on the lake by an old road now grown over, but easily opened, the Indians esteem it forty more. By this new road San Juan's may be occasionally succoured, in case the enemy's shipping should be superior to ours at San Juan's harbour, and a retreat be eventually secured.

'While matters are thus advancing by the centre, and by Bluefields, a corps of troops shall force their way by the village of Matina, which is to the southward of San Juan's. From the village of Matina to the city of Carthago, there is but a narrow road, and the distance about thirty miles; whence, to the lake, there is a good military road made of late years, for the more easily transporting stores across the country. The city of Carthago it is my purpose likewise to reduce, and to establish a strong post there, which cannot be forced, but by regular approaches. This will prevent the Spaniards from sending supplies to the lake, or making an attempt on San Juan's fort from that quarter. By these different movements, I do not see how we can fail to bring about that grand object, a communication between sea and sea, and to co-operate with any naval force that may be sent from England.

'Even should I be so fortunate as to force my way to Granada, I shall still have in view the attack on Carthago, by Rio Matina, in order not only to distract and impede such succours, as the enemy may intend to throw in from the eastward, but likewise to possess the fine country about the cities of Carthago and Nicoya. This will be the more easily done, as the troops employed on that service will, on their right flank, be well covered by the fort and post of San Juan. In like manner, the diversion up Bluefields river to Mena will serve, not only to puzzle the enemy, but equally to cover that important fort and posts.—In short, it is my opinion, that even should we be so unfortunate as to lose our superiority at San Juan's harbour, still, by being in possession of Bluefields, forming a grand deposit there, opening the road to Mena on the lake, and at the same time being in possession of Carthago to the eastward, we should be enabled, not only to support ourselves against an attack from the enemy, but likewise to pursue our intended operations to the southward; and that should things come to the worst, and we should be obliged to retire, still we should be able to retreat from Carthago to San Juan's by the Costa Rica river; and from San Juan's, by Mena, to the road opened from thence to Bluefields river, where our grand deposit is to be. After all, I must own, I cannot perceive how such a retreat could possibly become necessary: for what with the military stores now at San Juan's, those forwarding, and a deposit of provisions established there, the fort and its environs put into a respectable state; I cannot, I say, perceive, how the enemy with the

force they can bring against us, could be able, but after a considerable period indeed, and after infinite loss of time, treasure, and men, to drive us out of the country.

'More able generals, in less difficult countries, and after the best formed plans, have had disappointments: should I unfortunately add one to the number, a conscientious determination to do my duty, and to fulfil the intentions of my Sovereign, will, if not sweeten mine, at least render them less bitter.'

Accordingly, in the beginning of the year 1780, the small army, which was destined for this Expedition,[m] consisting of about two hundred regulars of the 60th and 79th regiments, one hundred men of Major Dalrymple's Loyal Irish corps, and two hundred Jamaica volunteers, embarked on board the several transports that had been prepared; and set sail from Port Royal on the 3d of February, under convoy of the Hinchinbrook, Captain Nelson. Their course was first directed for the Mosquito shore, to receive some of the Indians on board. On the 14th of February they arrived at Cape Gracias à Dios, a town of Honduras; where the soldiers were encamped on a large plain, about a mile from the sea, called Wank's Savanna. The soil of this plain was found to be swampy, affording water at only a foot or two below the surface: between this savanna and the sea was a large river, called also Wank's, surrounded by Scot's grass, and mangroves, to a considerable distance, so as to generate unwholesome air, and to seclude the sea breezes from the camp. Whilst at this place, however, the whole number in the hospital did not exceed thirty; until they were joined by Captain Dalrymple and Mr. Schomberg, from Black River, with a party of men of the 79th regiment; whose health was in a most deplorable state.

The troops being re-embarked on the 10th of March, they in a few days left Cape Gracias à Dios; and after anchoring at several places on the Mosquito shore, the appointed rendezvous for the Indians who were to proceed with them, they arrived on the 24th[n] at the River San Juan: the men in general being in good health, and in great spirits, from the idea of having so nearly reached their destination.

Here, as already observed according to the orders which Nelson had received from Sir Peter Parker, the services of the Hinchinbrook were to terminate; as her Captain had convoyed the troops to the Spanish Main. But, to use his own words, preserved in some memoranda taken at that time, "there not being a man who had ever been

[m] Two accounts have been published of this expedition. One by Dr. Moseley in his Treatise on Tropical Diseases; and the other by Dr. Dancer, who was physician to the troops that were sent. His account has become extremely scarce, and, from Dr. Dancer's having been an eye-witness of what passed, it has been principally referred to for the following account. It was originally printed at Jamaica in 1781, and is dedicated to General Dalling the Governor.

[n] From Dr. Dancer: according to the Nelson papers it was on the 28th.

up the river, or had an idea of the distance of any fortification from its mouth, Captain Nelson manned the Mosquito shore craft, and two of the Hinchinbrook's boats, and carried the soldiers up to the castle of San Juan."

About two hundred regulars, being now disembarked from the transports, with the necessary equipment of ammunition and stores, proceeded up the river, with the Indians in their several crafts. It being the latter end of the dry season, the river[o] contained very little water, and was full of shoals and sandy beaches, which rendered the passage exceedingly difficult: the men were frequently obliged to quit the boats, and unite their utmost exertions in getting them along through a number of shallow channels, which had previously been explored by the Indians, who were sent before for that purpose. This labour continued for several days after they left the mouth of the river, until they arrived in deeper water, when they made a quicker progress. But the men were much exposed to injury from the violence of the sun, for seven or eight hours every day; besides a still more intense heat that was reflected from many dry shoals, covered with a whitish sand, which sometimes rendered the air intolerable; and this was followed by as dangerous an exposure to the heavy dews at night.

The brunt of this arduous fatigue occasioned by rowing up the boats such a length of way, notwithstanding the currents, shoals, and rapids or falls, which impeded their progress, was chiefly sustained by the British seamen, and Indians. "The soldiery," adds Dr. Dancer, "partly from ignorance in those matters, and partly from that indolence which was the natural effect of their situation, were frequently of very little use."

On the ninth of April this advanced party arrived at a small island in the river, called San Bartholomew, which commanded the navigation in a rapid and difficult part. This island, situated about sixteen miles below the castle, was defended by a small semicircular battery, mounting nine or ten swivels; and was employed by the Spaniards as a look-out, with twelve or eighteen of their soldiers stationed there. The manner in which this out-post was boarded by Captain Nelson, to use his forcible expression, has been already[p] mentioned. With an intrepidity, that was irresistible, he headed a few of his seamen, and leaped upon the beach. The place, on which he had precipitated himself, was so muddy, that he found considerable difficulty in extricating himself; but he would admit of no delay, and, advancing without his shoes, stormed the battery.

[o] The river San Juan, according to Dr. Moseley, has many unwholesome marshes on its sides; and the adjacent trees grow so thickly, as to intercept the rays of the sun: consequently the earth beneath their branches is covered with rotten leaves and putrid vegetables. The torrents of water that fall for weeks together, during the periodical rains which begin about the middle of April, give the river a tremendous aspect. The blackness of the nights, accompanied with horrible tempests of lightning and thunder, constitute a magnificent scene of terror.

[p] See Memoir, p. 22.

In this gallant exploit he was bravely supported by Captain Despard. The Spaniards were panic struck at the daring promptness of the attack, and in vain endeavoured to escape, being stopped by the Indians, who had been posted higher up for that purpose.

On their subsequent perilous march through the almost impassable woods, an extraordinary and melancholy accident occurred, which is also noticed by Dr. Moseley. As one of the men was passing along, a snake darted from the bough of a tree and bit him under the eye. The pain was so intense, that he was unable to proceed. But when one of his comrades was soon afterwards sent to his assistance, the poor fellow was found dead and putrefied.

Captain Nelson also, during this march, had nearly experienced the same dreadful fate. Being one day excessively fatigued, he had ordered his hammock, on one of their halts, to be slung under some trees. During his sleep, that extraordinary animal called the Monitory [q] Lizard, from its faculty of warning persons of the approach of any venomous animal, passed across his face; which being observed by some of the attendant Indians, they shouted, and awoke him. He immediately started up, and throwing off the quilt, found one of the most venomous of the innumerable serpents in that country, curled up at his feet. From this providential escape, the Indians, who attended, entertained an idea that Nelson was a superior being, under an especial protection; and this idea, which his wonderful abilities and unwearied exertions tended to confirm, was of essential service in gaining their confidence, and prolonging their co-operation.

On another occasion, during this arduous service, Captain Nelson and some of his men narrowly escaped being poisoned. They had inadvertently endeavoured to quench their excessive thirst, by drinking at a spring into which some branches of the manchineel apple had been thrown; a subtle poison that is used by the Indians for their arrows. Nelson suffered severely from its effects; and it is the opinion of his Royal Highness the Duke of Clarence, from whom this anecdote was received, that the delicate health of his friend thus experienced a severe and lasting injury.

By the 11th of April, they came in sight of the castle of San Juan, and on the 13th the siege commenced; which, with so small an army, was not carried on without much fatigue and difficulty. Added to the hard labour of throwing up batteries, and the usual military duty of maintaining a number of guards and posts, the men had to transport all the ammunition and stores, by a very bad road, through the back woods, from the landing place two or three miles below the castle.

The hills, however, which our army occupied, afforded so many favourable and secure posts, that the men were very little exposed, and met with very few accidents: two or

[q] For an account of this beautiful animal, see Shaw's Zoology, Vol. III, Part I, p. 214.

three only were killed, and not above nine or ten were wounded. For some time, the animation that was excited by prospects of victory, enabled them to resist the fatigue they underwent: but at length, the bad weather setting in, the whole army, both sailors, soldiers, and Indians, began to fall sick, especially the latter, who suffered more from their own inhumanity, and want of care towards each other, than from any other cause. The castle surrendered on the 24th[r] of April, and soon afterwards the disaffection and desertion of the Indians became general.

"The castle having surrendered, continues Dr. Dancer, we hoped that our victory would furnish us not only with accommodations, but with many useful supplies, that might tend in some degree to stop our increasing sickness; but the wretched state of the garrison, provided with nothing that could lend either them, or us, the least comfort, and the inconvenient structure of the place, which was worse than any prison, disappointed us in those flattering expectations. Our men, therefore, now falling down in great numbers, added to all their other misfortunes, had no proper hospital for receiving them; the wretched houses or sheds to which we were obliged to give that name, being, from the dirt and filth surrounding them consisting chiefly of semi-putrid skins, I will not say merely improper hospitals, but a certain grave to almost all who entered them. Although the unhealthiness of these houses was represented to the Commander[s] in chief, and his orders were obtained for building a proper hospital, these orders could never be carried into execution; the sickness becoming so general, that there was neither artificer to work, nor soldier to assist him.

"As to hospital accommodations we had them in an abundant quantity, but not at our hospital where they were wanted. There not being a sufficient number of craft for transporting the ammunition and stores up the river, a certain quantity only of each could be put on board, which in many cases was not competent to the exigencies of the service; and the sickness increasing, rendered our future supplies from the transports still more precarious. So general was the illness at this time, and ever afterwards, that independent of the few who were well enough to do garrison duty, we had not orderly men sufficient to assist the sick.—From the month of April, when the castle surrendered, until[t] October, when the army returned to Bluefields, and for some time afterwards, the rains continued, with now and then an interval of a few days, to fall in prodigious quantities; and occasionally

[r] Captain Nelson's memoranda state it, April 29. Previous to this, their want of provisions was so great, that they were obliged chiefly to subsist on a broth made by boiling the monkeys that were caught. A sort of food which Nelson often declared nothing could induce him to touch, after seeing their appearance in the copper.

[s] When Dr. Dancer was afterwards obliged from ill health to apply for leave of absence, he left Colonel Kemble of the first battalion of the 60th Regiment, Commander in Chief.

[t] Dr. Moseley informs us, that a few of our men, who were the most likely to live, were left behind in the castle, in order if possible to keep possession of it, until further orders were received from Jamaica.

with the most dreadful thunder storms. The exhausted and debilitated state which most of the men were in, on being re-embarked for Bluefields, an English settlement about twenty leagues to the northward, rendered the situation and air of a ship's hold mortal to them, and a great number died on their passage."

" Great as our inconveniences were," adds Dr. Moseley, who remained in Jamaica, " they who encountered the San Juan Expedition suffered much more; and it was long doubtful, whether such of them as experienced every hardship in life, and were thrown into the river, or lay unburied on its banks a prey to wild beasts [u] in sight of their helpless companions, were not in a more enviable state than the survivors. Some whom I attended after their return, who had been long ill on the Spanish Main, had their intellects impaired and their senses at times disordered, during their weak and convalescent state. Out of eighteen hundred people, who were sent to different posts at different embarkations, not more than three hundred and eighty ever returned."

The following additional remarks, respecting this Expedition, were afterwards communicated [x] by Nelson, so late as the beginning of the year 1803. " Had the Expedition arrived at San Juan's harbour in the month of January, the violent torrents would have subsided, and of course the whole army would not have had occasion, which was the case in April, to get wet three or four times a day in dragging the boats. They would then have arrived at the castle by the middle of February, and had between two and three months of fair season to have established themselves, with all the stores, in the healthy country of Granada and Leon: and then, I think, a road for carriages might have been made from Bluefields harbour, an healthier place than San Juan's, to the lake Nicaragua.

" The fever which destroyed the army and navy attached to that Expedition, was invariably from twenty to thirty days before it attacked the new comers; and I cannot give a stronger instance, than that in the Hinchinbrook, with a complement of two hundred men, eighty-seven took to their beds in one night; and of the two hundred, one hundred and forty-five were buried in mine, and Captain, now Admiral, [y] Collingwood's time; and I believe very few, not more than ten, survived of that ship's crew: a proof how necessary expedition is in those climates."

In mentioning this illustrious officer, the following testimony to the skill and valour which he then displayed, is subjoined by Dr. Moseley: " It was on our San Juan Expedition that he commenced his career of glory: when unfortunate contentions had slackened the

[u] Several of the officers and men, according to the verbal information of Dr. Moseley, were actually devoured by the dreadful carrion crow of that country, and by tigers.

[x] For the last edition of Dr. Moseley's work on Tropical Diseases.

[y] Captain Nelson was succeeded in the Hinchinbrook by Captain Collingwood.

ardour for the public service, Captain Nelson did not suffer any narrow spirit to influence his conduct. He did more than his duty: where any thing was to be done, he saw no difficulties: not contented with having carried the armament safe to the harbour of San Juan, he accompanied and assisted the troops in all their difficulties. He was the first on shore at the attack of Saint Bartholomew, followed by a few brave seamen and soldiers, in the face of a severe fire. The undauntedness of the act frightened the Spaniards, who from the nature of the ground might have put him and his party to death: but they ran away and abandoned the battery. By his example and perseverance the Indians and seamen were encouraged through their toil, in forcing the boats against the current up the river; otherwise not a man would have seen San Juan castle. When they arrived at the castle, as prompt in thought as bold in action, he advised the carrying it instantly by assault. He knew the seasons were at hand, and that there was no time to be lost.—Misunderstandings, oppositions, and delays, the ruin of many military operations, were the origin of the failure of this: but even these perplexities and disappointments, great as they were, would not have defeated the Expedition, had the first detachment that General Dalling sent taken San Juan castle in two hours, instead of sitting down formally before it for eleven days."

On the arrival of the Victor sloop, which sailed from Jamaica, with a reinforcement, on the 10th of April, Captain Nelson received the intelligence that he had been appointed by Sir Peter Parker to the command of the Janus, forty-four guns; vacant by the death of Captain Bonovier Glover.[z] An event which providentially withdrew Nelson, when in a most precarious state of health, from a scene of death, to which Dr. Dancer has well applied the following lines.[a]

> " You heard the groans
> Of agonizing ships, from shore to shore:
> Heard nightly plunged amid the sullen waves
> The frequent corse; while on each other fixed
> In sad presage, the blank assistants seemed
> Silent to ask whom fate would next demand."

Captain Nelson returned to the harbour at Bluefields only one day previous to the surrender of the castle; and thence embarked for Jamaica in the Victor sloop, which was commanded by Captain Samuel Hood Walker, a nephew of Lord Hood, who was after-

[z] A brave officer, who expired just before Commodore Cornwallis's gallant action with a very superior force on the 20th of March, 1780. From ill health, he died, as the noble Commodore expressed himself, " in the very hour he so ardently wished to see." He was the son of the celebrated author of Leonidas.

[a] Thomson's Summer, when describing the sufferings of our brave seamen under Admiral Vernon, when employed on the Expedition against Carthagena, which sailed from Jamaica, January 28, 1741.

wards lost in a hurricane, as it was supposed, off Savannah la Mar. Captain Nelson found Mr. Tyson [b] in this sloop, who had been his purser in the Badger the whole time he commanded her; whose attentions, during the passage up, were very acceptable. Nelson was so completely debilitated by the dysentery, and worn out by fatigue, that on the arrival of the Victor at Port Royal, they were obliged to take him on shore in his cot; and in this manner he was first conveyed to the lodging house of his former black nurse Cuba Cornwallis,[c] a well-known and respectable negress, who saved the lives of many naval officers.

In the dispatches to General Dalling, which announced the surrender of Fort San Juan, and came to Jamaica in the Victor sloop, Major Polson made the following, and first official acknowledgment of Nelson's professional merit.

"Captain Nelson, then of the Hinchinbrook, came up with thirty-four seamen, one serjeant, and twelve marines: I want words to express the obligations I owe that gentleman. He was the first on every service, whether by day or night. There was not a gun fired but was pointed by him, or Captain Despard, chief engineer, who has exerted himself on every occasion: I am persuaded if our shot had held out, we should have had the fort a week sooner. As Captain Nelson goes to Jamaica, he can inform you of every delay and point of service, as well as I could, for he knows my very thoughts.

"The bearer, Lieutenant Mounsey, can inform your Excellency of many things that may escape my memory: he is a very good officer, and commanded the party I sent to reconnoitre the look-out; and began the attack of it in concert with Captain Despard and Captain Nelson, who with his seamen volunteered that duty."

The Spaniards retook Fort San Juan, as soon as the season permitted: but previous to this, our troops had reached the lake Nicaragua. A chart both of the river and lake were taken, which are now in this country.[d]

Captain Nelson soon after his arrival at Port Royal sent his congratulations to General Dalling, the Governor of Jamaica, on the taking of Fort San Juan; and received the following complimentary answer, dated Kingston, May 30th. "Thanks to you, my friend, for your kind congratulations: to you, without compliment, do I attribute in great measure the cause."

The private letter which General Dalling afterwards sent to Lord George Germain. will close the account of Captain Nelson's services on the San Juan Expedition.

[b] Mr. Tyson was afterwards secretary to Lord Nelson, and was with him in that capacity at Naples in 1799.

[c] She obtained her freedom from the noble Admiral of that name.

[d] In the possession of Mr. Arrowsmith.

MY LORD, JAMAICA, June 29, 1780.

'I HAVE hitherto neglected a piece of justice, due to the services of Captain Nelson, of H. M. S. Hinchinbrook, who convoyed the first detachment of troops to St. John's. On his arrival there, the commanding officer experienced every kind of assistance and attention from him: he left his ship in the harbour, and accompanied the first division up the river to the fort, with some of his seamen; he then dedicated himself to erecting the batteries, and afterwards to fighting them.—Unfortunately for the service he was obliged to return to the harbour, being appointed to another ship at this island; but he remained at the fort until the day before it surrendered.

'I most humbly entreat that his Majesty will be graciously pleased, through your Lordship, to manifest a satisfaction of Captain Nelson's conduct; and in case that a co-operating squadron should have been determined on for the southern ocean, that he may be employed on that service. Captain Nelson's constitution is rather too delicate for the service under my direction on this northern one: as such minds, my Lord, are most devoutly to be wished, for government's sake, I once more venture to urge this [d] suit.'

From the lodging house of his faithful negress, Captain Nelson was removed to the house or penn of the Admiral near Kingston, where both Lady Parker and her housekeeper, Mrs. Yates, sat up with him by turns; and even the Admiral himself constantly watched by the bed-side of Nelson: so generally and sincerely was he beloved. But his aversion from taking medicine was great; and the only method which these friends could devise, was to send it by the Admiral's youngest daughter, then a child; who afterwards was often recognised by Nelson as his little nurse.

As soon as his health was in the smallest degree re-established, he took the command of the Janus; but, experiencing a relapse, could only retain it for a short time, during which he commenced his acquaintance and future intimacy with the Captains Duckworth, and Macnamara Russell. Towards the end of August, 1780, his indisposition had so greatly increased, that the faculty declared he could not recover in the West Indies; and Dr. Moseley in particular urged the absolute necessity of his immediate return to Europe. The Admiral's permission is dated Sept. 1st; and soon afterwards Nelson embarked on board his Majesty's ship the Lion, commanded by the truly noble and gallant William Cornwallis.

In the Commander of the Lion, Captain Nelson had already found a mind congenial with his own; the same valour, zeal in service, and simplicity of manners, appeared in their respective characters: they had recently distinguished themselves under the

[d] From the Nelson Papers.

Commander in Chief, and were now returning to enjoy their well-earned laurels in the bosom of their beloved country. The conversation and kindness of such an officer was particularly grateful to Nelson, both during the voyage, and on their arrival in England; and he often afterwards was heard to declare, that under providence, he considered Captain Cornwallis as the [c] second preserver of his life. The hospitality which he had received at the penn of Sir Peter Parker in the West Indies, was renewed at the Admiral's residence in London; and the venerable domestic, who attended him in this illness, speaks with a degree of enthusiasm respecting the sufferings of her illustrious charge.

When the Lion had arrived in England, Captain Cornwallis immediately forwarded to the Reverend Edmund Nelson an account of his son's health, and requested him to come to London, that he might accompany his son to Bath. On the 23d of January 1781, Captain Nelson sent the following account of himself from Bath, to Captain Locker.—'I must, my dear Sir, crave your pardon for not having written to you before this; but I know you will readily believe the reason was inability: for I have been so ill since I have been here, that I was obliged to be carried to and from bed in the most excruciating tortures. But, thank God, I am now upon the mending hand. I drink the waters three times a day, and bathe every other night; besides drinking wine, which I think the worst of all.—When you write to Mr. George Smith, pray remember me to him. Adieu, and believe me your devoted servant.'—In another Letter, January 28, he adds, 'Your scolding at my not writing, I own I expected; yet I am convinced I did not deserve it: for even now, although I am much better, I am scarcely able to hold my pen.—I shall be happy whenever I am appointed to a ship, for, as you will suppose, I do not sit very easy under the hands of a doctor: although I give myself credit this once, for having done every thing, and taken every medicine that was ordered; so that Dr. Woodward, who is my physician, says he never had a better patient. Although I have not quite recovered the use of my limbs, yet my inside is a new man, and I have no doubt, but in two or three weeks, I shall be perfectly well; when nothing will give me more pleasure than seeing you in Gray's Inn, and finding you are appointed to a good ship.'—To this letter succeeded a third from Bath, dated February 15, 1781. 'It is really, dear Sir, so long since I have written to you, that I am now almost ashamed to write; but I know your goodness will forgive me, although I hardly deserve it. My health, thank God, is very near perfectly restored, and I have the complete use of all my limbs, except my left arm. I can hardly tell what is the matter with it, from the shoulder to my fingers' ends, it feels as if half dead; but the surgeon and doctors give me hopes it will all go off. I most sincerely wish to be employed, and hope it will not be long. If I am not employed, I intend coming to town the beginning of March, and expect when I come to see a fine trio in your room. If Mr.

[c] See also Memoir, Part II, page 23.

Rigaud has done the picture, send word in the next letter you write to me, and I will inclose you an order upon Mr. Paynter. Tell Mr. Rigaud I wish him joy of his painting being got to the Sardinian Ambassador's Chapel, and of hearing it so well spoken of: when you get the pictures I must be in the middle, for God knows, without good supporters, I shall fall to the ground.[f] Pray give my best compliments to Captain Pole, and tell him I hope we shall renew our acquaintance.—I must now wish you a good night, and drink your health in a draught of my physician's cordial, and a bolus. Adieu!'—The supporters here alluded to, were the portraits of the present Admiral George Montague, and Sir Charles Pole, which Captain Locker, according to the wishes of his friend, hung on each side of him.

After eleven weeks bathing he entirely recovered the use of his limbs: when on going to settle with Dr. Woodward, the smallness of the demand produced a generous altercation between them. 'Pray, Captain Nelson,' exclaimed the worthy physician, 'pray allow me to follow what I consider to be my professional duty. Your illness, Sir, has been brought on by serving your king and country; and, believe me, I love both too well, to be able to receive [g] any more.'

During Nelson's subsequent stay at Bath, he continued to write occasionally to Captain Locker: on the 21st of February, he says, 'This is like Jamaica to any other part of England.—As to my picture, it will not be the least like what I am now, that is certain; but you may tell Mr. Rigaud to add beauty to it, and it will be much mended.' March 5th, 'I never was so well in health, since you knew me, or that I can remember: it is a most precious jewel, which I will take care of in future. I shall be in London on Thursday the 15th of March, but as it will be too late to go to Mr. Suckling's, I will, if you have a spare bed, sleep that night at your house.'—March 9th, 'Your letter from Sidmonton I have just received. I set out for London on Monday morning with Mr. Kirk and his family, so shall be at Newberry between four and five in the afternoon; whence I will do myself the pleasure of visiting Sidmonton Place, according to Captain Kingsmill's very civil invitation. I have nothing more to add, only assuring you of the grateful sense I entertain of your kindness to me.'

Anno Ætat. 23.

On his arrival in town, he made every exertion to be immediately employed; but it was not until the 16th of August, in the same year, 1781, that he was appointed to commission the Albemarle frigate, 28 guns, at Woolwich: this ship had been originally a French merchantman, taken at the end of the year 1779, and purchased into the King's service. It was the 14th of October before the Albemarle arrived at the Nore from Long Reach, and on the 21st he wrote to Captain Locker, 'I have been very busy in getting my ship's company in order for service: they are, in my opinion, as good a set

[f] Captain Locker's collection of letters.

[g] From the Viscountess Nelson.

of men as I ever saw; indeed I am perfectly satisfied with both officers and ship's company; all my marines are likewise old standers. I have been so ill as hardly to be kept out of bed, and have been but twice from the ship since her arrival. What sad news from America..... I much fear for Lord Cornwallis: if something were not immediately done, America is lost."

His orders [h] arrived soon after this, and are dated October 23, 1781. The purport of them was, 'That as the Russia Company had represented, that besides the fleet of merchantmen under convoy of the Africa, there would also be a very considerable number of ships from the different ports of the Baltic at the Sound, laden with cargoes of the utmost national importance, he was to take the Argo, and Enterprise, under his command, and proceed to Elsineur for the homeward bound trade. He was also informed, that he might probably be reinforced by some ships from Commodore Stewart's squadron, who was off the Texel.'

It would be difficult to fix on any station, more fatally adapted to destroy the feeble constitution of an officer worn out by the sultry heats of San Juan, and the climate of the West Indies, than the cold and aguish atmosphere of the North Sea; and to persons who are not conversant with the mode of conduct, which the Admiralty sometimes deems it necessary to pursue towards naval men, it may seem strange, that more attention was not paid to a convalescent officer, whose professional worth and merit had been publickly acknowledged. Whether this is good or bad policy, it certainly made a deep impression on Nelson's mind; since long afterwards, as appears from his Memoir, when alluding to this circumstance, he adds, 'And it would almost be supposed, to try my constitution, was kept the whole winter in the North Sea.'—Such ideas do not remain in the mind of any seaman, without producing very serious evils in the service; and it is the more necessary to mark this, since the same neglect, being afterwards repeated at intervals, had nearly deprived this country of the achievements of a Nelson.

On the 29th of October, 1781, the Albemarle, with the Enterprise, 28 guns, Captain J. W. Payne, and the Argo, 44, Captain Butchart, sailed from the Nore for the Baltic, and arrived at Elsineur on the fourth of November. The armed neutrality was then nearly at a close, and the usual jealousy of this country prevailed in some of the northern courts. On coming to anchor off Elsineur, the Danish Admiral merely sent a midshipman on board the Albemarle, desiring to be informed what ships had arrived, and to have their force written down. 'The Albemarle,' exclaimed Nelson, 'is one of His Britannic Majesty's ships; you are at liberty, Sir, to count her guns as you go

[h] Signed Sandwich, Bamber Gascoyne, and F. Greville. The other members of the board, were the Earl of Lisburne, Henry Penton, Esq, Lord Mulgrave, and George Darby, Esq. Lord Sandwich was first appointed to preside at the board, on the 23d of April, 1763, and again on the 12th of Jan. 1771.

down the side; and you may assure the Danish Admiral, that, if necessary, they shall all be well served.'[g]—The midshipman returned with his message, and Captain Nelson soon afterwards sent his boat ashore to the Governor, in order to inform him, " that the English squadron would salute the Castle of Cronenburg with nineteen guns, provided an equal number were returned." On this communication being made, reciprocal civilities took place, and the neglect of the Danish commander, in not sending an officer of higher rank on board the Albemarle, was forgiven.

On the 19th of November, Captain Dickson arrived in the Sampson, 64 guns; and as the senior officer, took the command of the squadron. On the 8th of December ensuing, they left Elsineur with 260 sail of merchantmen, and arrived in safety in Yarmouth Roads; whence, on the twenty-second, 1781, Captain Nelson sent the following letter to his friend Captain Locker. ' I should have written a line before this, but I expected every moment a wind that would have sent me to the Downs, where I am bound with a large convoy of store ships for Portsmouth and Plymouth. I assure you I have almost been frozen on the other side of the water; here we find it quite summer. We have not had any success: indeed there is nothing you can meet, but what is in force: the Dutch have not a single merchantman at sea. One privateer was in our fleet, but it was not possible to lay hold of him. I chased him an hour, and came fast up with him, but was obliged to return to the fleet. I find since, it was the noted Fall[h] the pirate. Macbride sailed from hence yesterday, with his two Dutch prizes: they are fine privateers schooner rigged.....Dickson in the Sampson was our Commodore. What fools the Dutch must have been not to have taken us into the Texel. The convoy consisted of 260 sail; and they behaved as all convoys, that ever I saw did, shamefully ill; parting company every day. One hundred and ten sail are now in the Roads. I hope to hear you have a ship, at least that your health will permit you to take one. The Albemarle, although you abused her at Woolwich, has some good sailing in her. The Argo, a new forty-four, we can spare a great deal of sail; and I think, we go full as well as the Enterprise.'[i]

During this voyage to Elsineur, Captain Nelson gained a considerable knowledge of the Danish coast, and its soundings, which afterwards proved of such advantage to his country; and he also commenced an intimate friendship with a brother officer, whose greatness and goodness of mind were congenial to his own, that ever to be lamented seaman John Willett Payne. The Albemarle arrived in the Downs, on the 3d of January, 1782, from Yarmouth Roads; when her Captain went on shore to call on the senior officer,

[g] From Lieutenant Bromwich.

[h] A threatening letter from this pirate G. Fall, commanding the Folkstone privateer cutter, when off the coast of Scotland, is published in the Gent. Mag. (Vol. LI. page 285.)

[i] Capt. Locker's collection.

the Honourable Keith Elphinstone. During his absence from the ship, there came on so heavy a gale, that almost all the vessels on that station drove, and the Brilliant store ship, belonging to the ordnance, came athwart hawse of the Albemarle. Captain Nelson immediately ran to the beach, and with his wonted contempt of danger, when any duty called for his exertions, employed every method he could devise to return on board, fearing lest the Albemarle might drive on the Goodwin Sands; but the dreadful surf and increasing violence of the gale, made even the skilful mariners of Deal regard the attempt as utterly impracticable. At length some of the most intrepid offered to make the trial for fifteen guineas: this produced a competition, and Nelson, to the astonishment of all beholders, was long seen struggling with a raging and mountainous surf, in which the boat was continually immerged. After much difficulty, he got on board his ship, which lost her bowsprit and foremast.

On the 3d of February, 1782, the Albemarle arrived at Spithead, and on the eleventh was ordered into Portsmouth Harbour, in order to have shorter masts fitted in, and to repair the damages which she had received in the Downs. During this he at intervals thus continued his correspondence with Captain Locker.—' Portsmouth, March 10th, 1782. Your favour I received last night, enclosing a letter from Ross of December 31st. He has been twice on his passage for England; was once drove back by the French fleet, and the other time shipwrecked. But he is going to make another trial, and I suppose will arrive in this convoy: he desires his particular compliments to you. All the Admiral's family are well, enjoying the Mountain. General Dalling landed here last night, he came home in the Ranger armed ship. I have just learnt that most of the Ranger's convoy were taken in the Gulf of Florida by two line of battle ships, and six armed schooners: so I suppose Ross is carried into the Havannah.'—' Portsmouth, April 2d. The weather has been so very bad for these ten days, and southerly winds, that I have not been able to get old Albemarle out of the harbour. I am ordered to Cork to join the Dædalus, Captain Pringle, and to go with a convoy to Quebec; where, worse than all to tell, I understand I am to winter. I want much to get off from this confounded voyage, and believe if I had time to look a little about me, I could get another ship. Mr. Adair, who attends on Mr. Keppel, might tell him, that in such a country I shall be laid up: for he has informed me, that if I were sent to a cold damp climate, it would make me worse than ever. Many of my naval friends have advised me to represent my situation to Admiral Keppel, and they have no doubt but he would give me other orders, or remove me: but as I received my orders from Lord Sandwich, I cannot help thinking it wrong to ask Mr. Keppel to alter them. I am exceedingly happy at Charles Pole's success: in his seamanship he shewed himself as superior to the Don, as in his gallantry; and no man in the world was ever so modest in his account of it.—Admiral Pye hoisted his flag to day.

Admiral Barrington hoists his, after the court-martial is assembled to morrow on board the Britannia. Lord Longford[k] introduced me to him this morning, and told him who I was: it is from that quarter, could I stay long enough in port, that I expect a better ship. Admiral Barrington takes twelve sail of the line, as soon as ready, and is in a very good ship: he gets amongst all the youngsters here, and leaves out the Old Boys.—We are all alive. I hope to hear by next post you have got a ship. Farewell, my dear Sir, for I have been so idle, that I have not had ten minutes to spare. Yours most sincerely, Horatio Nelson.'—On the 6th of April he adds, in another letter, 'I am very much obliged to you for the great trouble you have given yourself, in trying to alter my destination. To morrow I sail should the weather prove moderate; and, if I can get home in the autumn, I hope I shall get a better ship, and a better [l] station.'

The Albemarle, having been blown out to sea from Kingsale Roads, during the night of the thirteenth, anchored on the eighteenth in the Cove of Cork: when Lieutenant Osborn, second of the Albemarle, being appointed to the Preston, Captain Nelson procured an acting order of the senior officer, Captain Bennett, for his old shipmate and follower Mr. Bromwich. On the 20th of April, he sent Captain Locker word of their safe arrival. 'After a dreadful long passage, my dear Sir, of ten days, owing to the very bad weather, we are at last got here. The Dædalus, our consort, arrived the same day: to morrow we sail if the wind continues fair. Captain Pringle goes upon the Newfoundland station, when he has seen us to the entrance of the River St. Lawrence. Our convoy is between thirty and forty sail. I know your goodness will say,—"I wonder how Nelson does?" I answer, "He is quite well; better than for a long time past; and he hopes by his return all your complaints will be removed." Remember me kindly to the Bradley's, and do not forget me to Commissioner Kirk, nor to Charles Pole when you see him: never was there a young man who bore his own merits with so much modesty. The Preston I understand is to bring out the English Quebec fleet. Farewell, my dear Sir.'

They did not leave the Cove of Cork until the 26th of the month; and on the 7th of May, at night, it blew a gale of wind, with thick weather, during which the Albemarle parted company with the Dædalus. On the eighth, only three sail were in company; on the twenty-seventh they made St. John's Harbour, Newfoundland, and came to an anchor there. By the first of June, Captain Nelson heard overland that his Commodore was in Capelin Bay, about twenty leagues to the westward; and on the same day he began the following narrative to Captain Locker. 'We arrived at this disagreeable place last Monday, at day-light, (the 27th) with four sail of the convoy. As the wind has blown strong from the eastward, ever since our arrival here, I imagine that Captain

[k] Right Hon. Edward Michael Lord Longford, was made post in the Sheerness, May 31, 1766. [l] Ibid.

Pringle could not fetch this port, and is therefore gone on to the westward: if he is, this wind will carry him to Quebec; while I am so unfortunate as to be kept here with a fair wind: for the entrance of this harbour is so narrow, that you cannot sail unless the wind blows right out; as soon as the wind changes I shall sail. Leocadia arrived here three days before us, with the salt ships from Lisbon. Captain Hope desires his compliments. He took a ship privateer the day he made the land, of fourteen guns. We have heard the news [i] from the West Indies, but not the particulars. It is reported that the Duke blew up in the action: I hope to God it is not true, I had rather the French were at the devil, than to have lost Captain Gardner;[k] he is a real loss to the service. My second Lieutenant was appointed to the Preston, and left the ship at Cork; the other lieutenant not having joined, I gave Bromwich an order to act as one; it will, in all probability, bring him some prize money, and I hope get him confirmed a lieutenant. He does his duty exceedingly well as an officer: indeed I am very well off, they are all good. As to myself, the voyage agrees better with me than I expected.'

The Albemarle joined the Commodore and convoy, in Capelin Bay, on the 5th of June, whence they sailed on the 17th; and having been escorted by the Leocadia [l] and Æolus frigates to the entrance of the river St. Lawrence, they arrived with their convoy at the Isle of Bec, in that river, on the second of July. On the 4th, the Albemarle sailed on a cruise, and on the 14th, captured an American fishing schooner, belonging to Cape Cod; which had nearly completed her voyage, and contained in her cargo nearly all the wealth which the master of her possessed: this, as may be imagined, was not lost on Horatio Nelson. He however kept his intentions, for the present, to himself; and not having any officer on board, who was acquainted with Boston Bay, and the adjacent shoals, he ordered the master of the fishing schooner to come on board the [m] Albemarle, and act as her pilot.

The poor fellow, whose name was Carver, had a large family, who anxiously expected his return, earnestly hoping that this trip might prove fortunate. He instantly obeyed without a murmur; and, leaving his little vessel, exerted himself to discharge the orders of Captain Nelson with fidelity. But his conduct was not unnoticed by that great and good man, who at length thus addressed his prisoner: 'You have rendered us, Sir, a

[i] Sir George Rodney's Victory, April 12.

[k] The present Lord Gardner.

[l] The Santa Leocadia Spanish frigate was taken on the 2d of May, 1781, by the Canada, Sir George Collier, and was then the only ship in their service that was coppered. She was pierced for forty guns, and had thirty-four mounted. Her Captain was Don Francisco de Wenthuisen, who had been appointed to command all the frigates he might meet with belonging to Spain. He lost his right arm in the action: the Leocadia, a name which has since been lost to our service, was 146 feet long, and near 40 broad.

[m] From the information of Lieutenant Bromwich.

very essential service, and it is not the custom of English Seamen to be ungrateful. In the name therefore and with the approbation of the Officers of this ship, I return your schooner, and with it this Certificate of your good conduct. Farewell! and may God bless you!"

The American full of astonishment and gratitude, returned on board his little vessel, blessing the noble Captain of the Albemarle and his generous crew: when, on opening the paper, he found the following security in case he should again be captured:

These are to certify, that I took the schooner Harmony, Nathaniel Carver, Master, belonging to Plymouth;[q] *but, on account of his good Services, have given him up his Vessel again. Dated on board His Majesty's ship Albemarle, 17th of August,* 1782.

Boston Bay. HORATIO NELSON.

The original manuscript so highly honourable to the British Navy, is framed and hung up in the house of Isaac Davis, Esq. a gentleman of Boston.[r] May similar instances of liberality and forbearance on each side destroy those jealousies between England and America, which it is so much the interest of their enemies to foment.

The grateful Master of the schooner came off to the Albemarle afterwards, at the risk of his life, with four sheep, some poultry, and a quantity of vegetables, as a present to her Captain; and a most valuable one it proved, since the scurvy was raging in the ship. For a long time Carver peremptorily refused to be paid, but was at length reluctantly compelled to receive it, lest he should offend Captain Nelson; and here again that illustrious Seaman displayed another instance of his humanity, for the whole of the American's present was shared equally amongst the sick.

In a letter[s] to Captain Locker, dated Albemarle, Isle of Bec, river St. Lawrence, October 19, 1782, Nelson describes the hardships which himself, and his ship's company, had endured: 'My letter from Newfoundland, by the way of Lisbon, if you ever receive, you will have got long before this time; and I most sincerely hope that old England, at this time of need, will have the services of so good an Officer as yourself. We arrived here with the convoy on the first of July, I sailed on a cruise the fourth of the same month, and returned to Quebec on the 17th of September knocked up with the scurvy; having lived myself and all the Officers for eight weeks upon salt beef; nor had the ship's company a fresh meal since the 7th of April. Our cruise has been an unsuccessful one; we have indeed taken, seen and destroyed more enemies, than is usually done in the same

[q] On the western shore of Cape Cod Bay, in the State of Massachusets, the first town that was built in New England. [r] From the information of Rear Admiral Sir Isaac Coffin. [s] Captain Locker's Collection.

space of time; but not one has arrived in port. However I do not repine at our loss; in other things we have been very fortunate: On the 14th of August, in Boston Bay, we fell in with four sail of the line, and the Iris, part of Mons. Vaudreuil's Squadron, who gave us a pretty dance for between nine and ten hours; but we beat all except the frigate, and, though we brought-to for her after we were out of sight of the line of battle ships, she tacked and stood from us. Our escape I think wonderful: upon the clearing up of a fog, they were within shot of us, and chased us the whole time about one point from the wind. The frigate, I fancy, had not forgotten the dressing which Captain Salter gave the French frigate Amazon, for daring to leave the line of battle ships.[t] Farewell my dear Sir.'

According to Montesquieu, the Courage of a Warrior arises from a proper estimate of his own powers, and an anxiety to monopolize praise: A consciousness of the first, which sometimes gives to a zealous mind the appearance of vanity, may be frequently observed in Nelson; but respecting the second part of Montesquieu's idea of military Courage, as arising from an anxiety to monopolize praise, our renowned countryman was an eminent and remarkable exception. The reader must have observed in him a generous eagerness, on all occasions, to bestow commendation on every deserving officer. In the above letter to his intimate friend, with how much modesty did he speak of his own skill and gallantry, and how ready did he appear to praise the bravery of Captain Salter.

The following is a more detailed account of the judgment and spirit which Nelson displayed. On the 14th of August, at two P. M. the Albemarle was chased by four French

[t] Captain Nelson here alludes to the gallant Action that was fought by Captain Elliot Salter, of the Santa Margaretta frigate of 36 guns, 255 men, with L'Amazone of 36 guns, and 300 men, commanded by the Viscount de Montguiote. The following particulars are taken from the minutes made by Mr. M'Arthur, who was then on board the Santa Margaretta. This Action commenced on the evening of the 29th of July 1782, off Cape Henry, on the coast of America, after the Santa Margaretta had been chased from the body of the Marquis de Vaudreuil's fleet, by L'Amazone and Iris frigates. Having drawn these frigates to a sufficient distance from the fleet, the Santa Margaretta tacked to give battle to the enemy, and in a few minutes got into action within pistol shot of L'Amazone, the headmost frigate, with which she afterwards closed nearly yard-arm and yard-arm, for about an hour, when the frigate struck her colours, having her Captain with 80 officers and men killed, and upwards of 70 wounded, among whom was the Chevalier de Lepine, the second Captain, on whom the command had devolved. The Santa Margaretta had only five men killed and 17 wounded. At the close of the action the Iris was nearly within gun-shot; but finding her consort had so soon yielded, she tacked and stood to rejoin the French fleet, and in the night was observed to make signals with sky-rockets. The first Lieutenant, Jonas Rose, now Captain of the Agamemnon, and 50 men, were put on board L'Amazone, to take possession of her; but from her fore and main-masts soon going overboard, owing to the injury they had received in the action, it was necessary to take the prize in tow during the night. The consequence was, that at day-break the next day, the whole of the French Fleet was discovered in chace, bearing down under a press of sail in a thunder squall. No time was lost in getting our brave seamen out of the prize. She was then cut adrift, and left to the enemy's line of battle ships. The Santa Margaretta had also a most astonishing escape from capture, which was done by the pilot's running her into a shoal water among the Sands off the Delaware, after 48 hours close pursuit by the French fleet. So daring an example had its effect on the mind of Nelson.

sail of the line and the Iris frigate, who had come out of Boston harbour. Captain Nelson immediately wore, and, on finding that "they all beat him in sailing," as is described in his [u] Memoir, "he boldly ran amongst the numerous shoals of St. George's Bank." Owing to this presence of mind, and that skill in pilotage on which he so justly valued himself, he effectually separated his ship from the superior force of the enemy. The frigate warily continued the pursuit; on which the Albemarle at six [v] o'clock shortened sail and hove to. This seemed to stagger the Iris, who by sun-set had nearly got within gun-shot of her antagonist, and during the night she escaped; on which the Albemarle again stood into Boston Bay, but saw nothing of the frigate.

By the 23d of August, so many of his crew had suffered, and were daily sinking under the scurvy, that Captain Nelson ordered his ship to stand away for Quebec, intending to have gone through the strait of Canso; which is a near passage between the island of Cape Breton and the main. On the 30th, just as they were entering the strait, a sudden change of wind took place to the W. N. W. and obliged them to go round the island. Owing to contrary winds, it was the 9th of September before they could get up to the Isle of Bec, which is 75 leagues below Quebec, where they procured a pilot: who, on the morning of the 15th, anchored the ship abreast of Cape Torment. At six A. M. they weighed, and made sail with light airs of wind through the north traverse; but at nine it fell calm, and the ship drifted amongst the Shoals. The pilot, who was frightened out of his senses, earnestly entreated the Captain to go back to the anchorage they had left in the morning. "No," replied Nelson, "I have a great number of men sick on board: I am bound to Quebec, and there I will go." "Upon which," adds Lieutenant Bromwich, "we turned to, and warped the ship through the north traverse, to the utter astonishment of the pilot. On the 17th we anchored at Quebec, and sent our sick to the hospital."

During these repeated visits to Quebec, Captain Nelson first became acquainted with Mr. Alexander Davison, at whose house he experienced the utmost hospitality, and from whom, both at this time, and long afterwards, he received innumerable acts of kindness. The sanguine mind of Nelson often required the cool and steady reason of a friend to regulate the common occurrences of private life: his extraordinary character displayed no inconsiderable portion of knight-errantry, and like the most celebrated warriors in the annals of chivalry,[w] he devoted himself equally *a la Guerre, et a l'Amour*.

With this disposition, whilst remaining at Quebec, he became violently attached to

[u] Page 33, where he seems to have forgotten the exact number of ships. [v] From Lieutenant Bromwich.

[w] "La Guerre, l'Amour, et la Religion, formoient, comme on sait, la base de cette institution singuliere." Histoire Literaire des Troubadours, (tom. i. p. 35.)

an amiable American lady, who is since married, and at present resides in London. When the Albemarle, on the 14th of October, was ready for sea, Captain Nelson had taken his leave, and had gone down the river St. Lawrence to the place where the men of war usually anchored; but the next morning, as Mr. Davison was walking on the beach, he saw Nelson coming back in his boat. On reaching the landing-place, the former anxiously demanded the cause that occasioned his friend's return: "Walk up to your house," replied Nelson, "and you shall be acquainted with the cause:—I find it utterly impossible to leave this place, without again waiting on her whose society has so much added to its charms, and laying myself and my fortunes at her feet." Mr. Davison earnestly remonstrated at the consequences of so rash a step. "Your utter ruin, situated as you are at present, must inevitably follow." "Then let it follow," exclaimed Nelson; "for I am resolved to do it." "And I also," replied his friend, "positively declare that you shall not." After a mutual contest, the firmness of the latter prevailed, and Nelson, though with no very good grace, relinquished his prize, and suffered himself to be led back to his boat.

The Albemarle sailed on the 20th, from Bec roads for New York, in company with the Pandora, Captain Inglis, and 23 sail of transports, and on the 11th of November arrived at Sandy-Hook, where Captain Nelson found Admiral Lord Hood in the Barfleur, with 12 sail of the line, being a part of Lord Rodney's fleet, which after the memorable twelfth of April, had followed a squadron of the French, under the Marquis de Vaudreuil, to Boston, and having there been blown off their station, had stood for New York.

At Sandy-Hook, new connexions, and a new scene of enterprise were opened to Captain Nelson, and effaced other impressions from his mind. As his future services, both during the short remaining period of the American war, and a very considerable portion of the succeeding one, were chiefly performed under the flag of Lord Hood, it will be necessary to notice the circumstance which led to their subsequent intimacy.

When the former, on his arrival at Sandy-Hook, waited on Admiral Digby, Lord Hood was present, and saw the Captain of the Albemarle for the first time. His lordship had been intimately acquainted with Captain Maurice Suckling, and was therefore ready to pay every attention to his nephew, from an high estimation of the uncle's professional character. "You are come," said Admiral Digby, "on a fine station for making prize-money." "Yes, Sir," replied Nelson, "but the West Indies is the station for Honour."* He soon afterwards went on board the Barfleur, and anxiously requested Lord Hood to ask for the Albemarle; a favour which was not obtained from Admiral Digby without much difficulty, so highly was Captain Nelson's professional merit then esteemed by that admiral.

* From the information of Lieutenant Bromwich.

It was in America, and at this period, that Nelson became acquainted with a distinguished Officer, he afterwards so much regarded, his Royal Highness Prince William Henry, now Duke of Clarence; who had been serving in the capacity of a midshipman under Admiral Digby, but on Lord Hood's arrival, went by his Majesty's directions, on board the Barfleur. His Royal Highness has been pleased to describe this first interview with Captain Nelson, and his personal appearance at that time:

"I was then[y] a Midshipman on board the Barfleur, lying in the narrows off Staten Island, and had the watch on deck, when Captain Nelson of the Albemarle came in his barge alongside, who appeared to be the meerest boy of a captain I ever beheld: and his dress was worthy of attention. He had on a full laced uniform: his lank unpowdered hair was tied in a stiff Hessian tail of an extraordinary length; the old-fashioned flaps of his waistcoat added to the general quaintness of his figure, and produced an appearance which particularly attracted my notice; for I had never seen any thing like it before, nor could I imagine who he was, nor what he came about. My doubts were, however, removed, when Lord Hood introduced me to him. There was something irresistibly pleasing in his address and conversation; and an enthusiasm, when speaking on professional subjects, that shewed he was no common being. Nelson after this went with us to the West Indies, and served under Lord Hood's flag during his indefatigable cruise off Cape François. Throughout the whole of the American War the height of Nelson's ambition was to command a line of battle ship; as for prize-money, it never entered his thoughts: he had always in view the character of his maternal uncle. I found him warmly attached to my Father, and singularly humane: he had the honour of the King's service, and the independence of the British Navy particularly at heart; and his mind glowed with this idea as much when he was simply Captain of the Albemarle, and had obtained none of the honours of his Country, as when he was afterwards decorated with so much well earned distinction."

These facts are mentioned, with his usual commendation of his brother officers, in a letter which Nelson sent from New York to Captain Locker, on the 17th of November, 1782.

'I arrived, with all my fleet safe, which is a very fortunate thing at this season of the year. I found Lord Hood here, and I have requested him to take the Albemarle to the West Indies: he has written to Admiral Digby for me, and I was to have sailed with the fleet, as this day; but, for some private reasons, when my ship was under sail from New York to join Lord Hood at Sandy-Hook, I was sent for on shore, and told I was to be kept forty-eight hours after the sailing of the fleet: it is much to my private

[y] From minutes of a conversation with his Royal Highness at Bushey Park.

advantage; but I had rather have sailed with the fleet: if there is wind enough they sail this day. I am a candidate, with Lord Hood, for a line of battle ship. He has honoured me highly by a letter, for wishing to go off this station to a station of service, and has promised me his friendship. Prince William is with him. Peacock has got L'Aigle, a very fine frigate of 28 eighteen pounders, and 315 men: she had twenty-fours, but she is far preferable with eighteen pounders: he is very much beloved by every body here. Charles Pilfold is one of the first to be made a lieutenant: a charming character, beloved by his captain, and all his acquaintance. I have had him with me almost ever since my arrival; he has the same gentle disposition, and modesty, as when a youngster: you must well remember the little fellow.—The French are still in Boston. I have got but a corner, to say to all my friends, " how do ye?"—Farewell.'

There is another anecdote respecting Nelson, whilst on this station in America, which cannot be better related, than in the words of lieutenant Bromwich. 'The day before we sailed, Captain Nelson went on board the Barfleur; when Lord Hood said to him, " I suppose, Sir, from the length of time you were cruising amongst the Bahama Keys, you must be a good pilot there." " My Lord," replied Nelson, " I am well acquainted with them; but my second lieutenant is far my superior in that respect."—'I was therefore,' adds Mr. Bromwich, 'sent for by Captain Knight, who asked me many questions respecting the Bahama Keys, as it was expected that the French would attempt some of the passages between them, and I was in consequence ordered to hold myself in readiness for that service. I never heard of this proof of my worthy Captain's good intentions towards me from himself, but by means of some officers who were present.'

Whether owing to a change of wind, or to any other cause, the Albemarle, notwithstanding what is said in the above letter, sailed with Lord Hood's [z] fleet for the West Indies, on the 22d of November. On this, the French squadron, under the Marquis de Vaudreuil, left Boston, intending to go to Cape François, off which Lord Hood had stationed his fleet: but as the enemy were informed of this by a neutral vessel, they in consequence pushed through the Mona Passage, and got into Porto Cavallo, on the coast of the Caraccas, where they remained until the conclusion of the war. Lord Hood's

[z] The Santa Margaretta frigate, Captain Salter, while on a cruise to the southward, fell in with the fleet, and was ordered by Lord Hood to accompany him to the West Indies. The following was Lord Hood's order of sailing, given at Sandy-Hook, Nov. 20, 1782.

	Ships Names.	Ships Names.
Larboard Line when sailing large.	Valiant	Marlborough
	Invincible	Alfred
	Repulse	Belliqueux
	Prince George	Bedford
	Magnificent	Prothée
	America	Arrogant

fleet on the 4th of December made Hispaniola, and on the 5th of February 1783, anchored in Port Royal. On the 16th Captain Nelson sailed, with the Drake brig, on a reconnoitering cruise off Porto Cavallo: during the passage thither, they chaced a French ship off Cape Samana in the night, which by superior sailing escaped; and they afterwards discovered that this vessel had brought out the news to Cape François, that the preliminaries of Peace between Great Britain, France, Spain, and America, had been signed on the 20th[a] of January, 1783, at Versailles.

During this cruise, on the 25th of February 1783, when off Cape Tiburon, the following account of their proceedings was sent to Captain Locker.—'I[b] suppose the fleet will be ready for sea the last day of this month; although stores are as scarce at Jamaica as ever. Sixteen topmasts were wanted for the line of battle ships, and there was not one in the island of Jamaica; and the fleet must have been sent to sea short of masts, had not providentially a French mast ship, belonging to Vaudreuil's fleet, come alongside the Albemarle, who captured her: she had nearly a hundred topmasts for large ships, with a number of lower masts and yards; and will clear upwards of 20,000 *l.* What a prize, if the fleet had not been in sight! They do not deserve to share for her: we had chased to leeward, and she had passed every ship in the fleet without being noticed. The French fleet finding we were off monte Christo, went through the Mona passage, and have been seen in sight of the island of Curaçoa, but where they are no one knows. I am sent out by Lord Hood to find them if I can. We are all in the dark in this part of the world, whether it is peace or war.

'My situation in Lord Hood's fleet, must be in the highest degree flattering to any young man: he treats me as if I were his son, and will, I am convinced, give me any thing I can ask of him. Nor is my situation with Prince William less flattering: Lord Hood was so kind as to tell him (indeed I cannot make use of expressions strong enough to describe what I felt) that if he wished to ask questions relative to Naval Tactics, I could give him as much information as any officer in the fleet. He will be, I am certain, an ornament to our Service. He is a Seaman, which you could hardly suppose: every other qualification you may expect from him: but he will be a disciplinarian, and a strong one. A vast deal of notice has been taken of him at Jamaica: he has been addressed by the Council, and the House of Assembly was to address him the day after I sailed. He has his levees at Spanish Town: they are all highly delighted with him: with the best temper, and great good sense, he cannot fail of being pleasing to every one. Bromwich is second lieutenant of the Albemarle, and is a very good officer. But I must say, God bless you!

[a] The definitive treaties were signed at Paris on the third of September 1783. The Dutch could not settle the preliminaries of peace until Sept. 2; the definitive treaty was not signed until May 20, 1784.

[b] Captain Locker's Collection.

for the Endymion's boat is just coming on board: she is Convoy to the packet, and sailed seven days before us from Port Royal. Farewell, my good sir, and assure yourself I am, and always shall be, your most affectionate friend and servant.'

The Albemarle also captured a French brig, the Alexandrine; and on the 29th of March, looked into Porto Cavallo, and found there eleven sail of the line, two frigates, a ship armed *en flute*, and several merchantmen. The next day they examined Curaçoa harbour; and, when between Porto Cavallo and la Guira, took a king's launch belonging to the Spaniards, with an illustrious foreigner, the Count de deux Ponts, M. Lynch, and several French officers of distinction, who belonged to the French squadron, and had been on a visit to Caracca de Leon. After endeavouring to procure what intelligence he was able, Captain Nelson, with a liberality which his distinguished captives well knew how to appretiate, immediately granted them their liberty. The Albemarle returned to Port Royal; and, on the ninth of May, accompanied His Royal Highness Prince William, who was on board the Fortunée, Captain Christian, on his visit to the Havannah, who was also attended by the Captains Goodall, Rowley, and Merrick. Lord Hood[c] followed with the fleet, and remained off the place until His Royal Highness' return.

On the eleventh, the Albemarle sailed from the Havannah for St. Augustine, East Florida, with dispatches from Lord Hood; on the 19th she stood for England, and on the 25th of June, 1783, anchored at Spithead. On the 26th, the following notice of his arrival was sent to Captain Locker, from Portsmouth. 'After all my tossing about, my dear friend, in various climates, here at last am I arrived safe and sound. I found orders for the Albemarle to be paid off at this place. On Monday next I hope to be rid of her. My people I fancy will be pretty quiet, if they are not set on by some of the ships here. Lord Hood's fleet is just heaving in sight round [d]St. Helen's.'—The Albemarle was paid off in Portsmouth harbour on the third of July. Captain Nelson immediately went to London, whence, on the 12th, he thus continued his correspondence with Captain Locker, from lodgings in Salisbury Street.

"My time, ever since I arrived in town, has been taken up in attempting to get the wages due to my Good Fellows, for various ships they have served in during the war. The disgust of the Seamen to the Navy, is all owing to the infernal plan of turning them over from ship to ship; so that men cannot be attached to their officers, nor their officers care the least about the men. My ship was paid off last week, and in such a manner as must flatter any officer, particularly in these turbulent times; the whole ship's company offered, if I could get a ship, to enter for her immediately. But I have no thoughts

[c] His lordship sent as a present to the governor of the Havannah, a sirloin of beef that had been roasted, and a buttock that had been boiled in England.

[d] Captain Locker's Collection.

of going to sea; for I cannot afford to live on board, in such a way as is going on at present. Yesterday Lord Hood carried me to St. James's, where the King was exceedingly attentive. On Monday, or Tuesday, I am to be at Windsor, to take leave of Prince William, previous to his embarkation for the continent: Captain Merrick, a young man of Lord Hood's bringing up, is to be with him. H. R. Highness is to go over in the Augusta yatch, Captain Vandeput. Bromwich came home second lieutenant with me; an attentive good officer: indeed nobody could be happier in their officers than I was. Trail has been master ever since the ship was commissioned. If I had interest with the Comptroller, I could wish to get him to be superintendent of some of the ships in ordinary: he is the best master I ever saw since I went to sea. Farewell, my dear Sir, and assure yourself I am your sincere friend.'

After his return from that Court, of which he became so splendid an ornament, and to which he had now been for the first time, Captain Nelson dined with Mr. Davison, at Lincoln's Inn. On his arrival, the former immediately threw off, what he termed, "his iron-bound Coat," and having procured a dressing-gown, spent the evening in talking over the various occurrences that had taken place, since they last parted on the beach of the river St. Lawrence.

The following letter[e] to Mr. Ross gives an interesting display of Nelson's feelings at the close of the American War: it is dated from Salisbury Street, August 9, 1783.

'My dear friend, I am sure you are well convinced, that nothing but my being ignorant where to direct to you, could have hindered you from being troubled with my nonsense. The innumerable favours I have received, be assured I shall never forget; and any opportunity that shall offer of my making some small return, you may always command: but I have done. You have long looked on me with a favourable eye, and I believe, that I don't want gratitude. I have closed the War without a fortune: but I trust, and, from the attention that has been paid to me, believe, that there is not a speck in my character. True Honour I hope predominates in my mind far above riches.

'Do you know Captain Pringle of the Dædalus? He lives at Caroline Park, four miles from Edinburgh: he is my particular friend, and a man of great honour. I have had a very pressing invitation to come down to him; but, as I have not seen my relations, I cannot take this opportunity. Farewell! my dear friend.'

[e] Mr. Ross's Collection.

BOOK THE SECOND.

SECTION II.

From 1783 *to the commencement of the French war in* 1793.

WHILST SERVING ON BOARD HIS MAJESTY'S SHIP BOREAS, AND RESIDING ON HALF-PAY AT THE PARSONAGE OF BURNHAM-THORPE.

THE naval politics of this period, and the actual state of the British Navy, were fully discussed in the debate on the preliminaries of Peace, which began on the 17th of February 1783.[d] The importance of the island of Minorca, that had been ceded to the enemy, was thus particularly dwelt on by Lord North: "When we consider the value of Minorca, that it was always possessed with much greater ease and less expence than even the impregnable Gibraltar; that it has one of the finest harbours in the world; that it has never been the object of contention with Spain, which Gibraltar has, although it affords us advantages which Gibraltar cannot; that, from this island, our squadrons might have been always ready to sail at any time, to annoy the trade, alarm the coasts, and to meet the fleets of our enemies, without the least intelligence being communicated to the enemy of their designs; the possession of Minorca being thus invaluable, should have rendered it of sufficient estimation in the opinion of ministers, to have kept it by every means of power and treaty." Lord Mulgrave declared, "that the obvious impression made at first view by the Peace was, that it was rather a Peace patched up to serve a purpose, than one that promised to be of long duration:" he expressed his indignation at what he had heard asserted, that any Peace, however short, was better than continuing the War. Mr. Fox, after minutely tracing the grounds of the various concessions, declared, "that the terms were humiliating in the extreme." Mr. Chancellor Pitt rose in justification of the Peace, gave a review of all the belligerent powers, and defended the articles that were particularly complained of. The debate closed with a majority of 16 against ministers.

[d] *Board of Admiralty, Jan.* 28, 1783.
Richard Viscount Howe.
Hugh Pigot, Esq.
Charles Brett, Esq.
Richard Hopkins, Esq.
Hon. John Jefferies Pratt.
John Aubrey, Esq.
Hon. John Leveson Gower.

Board of Admiralty, April 8, 1783.
Augustus, Viscount Keppel.
Hugh Pigot, Esq.
William, Viscount Duncannon.
Hon. John Townshend.
Sir John Lindsay, K. B.
William Jolliffe, Esq.
Whitshed Keene, Esq.

Changed again in the same year, Dec 30.
Richard, Viscount Howe.
Charles Brett, Esq.
Hon. J. JefferiesPratt, (Earl Camden.)
Hon. John Leveson Gower.
Henry, Lord Apsley.
Hon. C. G. Percival, (Lord Arden.)
James Modyford Heywood, Esq.

In the resumed debate on this subject, which took place on the 21st of February, four resolutions censuring the terms of the Peace were moved by Lord John Cavendish, and supported with all the abilities and eloquence of Mr. Fox, who declared, "the Peace which they had pledged themselves to confirm, was the most improvident, inconsiderate, and ill-advised Peace that the English nation had ever been weak enough to accept."

It was in answer to this speech of Mr. Fox, that Mr. Pitt arose: The following is an extract from the comprehensive detail of the state of the Navy on which he entered, and relates to those parts of the world which are connected with the services of Captain Nelson. "I shall begin, Sir, with a most important subject, the state of the British Navy, and shall refer myself for proofs of what I assert, to the papers now lying on your table. We are informed from the papers before us, that the British force amounted nearly to one hundred sail of the line: many of these had been long and actively employed on foreign stations. With diligent exertions, six new ships would have been added to the catalogue in March. The force of France and Spain amounted to nearly one hundred and forty sail of the line, sixty of which were lying in Cadiz harbour, stored and victualled for immediate service. Twelve ships of the line, including one newly built by the United States[e] had quitted Boston harbour under Vaudreuil, in a state of perfect[e] repair; and an immense land armament was collected at St. Domingo. These several forces were united in one object, and that object was the reduction of Jamaica. Who can suppose, with serious confidence, that island would have long resisted a regular attack, supported by seventy-two sail of the line? Admiral Pigot, after his reinforcement from Europe, would have commanded a fleet of only forty-six sail, and it has long been acknowledged in this house, that 'defensive war must terminate in certain ruin.' Would Admiral Pigot have undertaken at this time offensive operations against the islands of the enemy; those islands on which Lord Rodney, flushed with victory, could not venture to attempt an impression? Would Admiral Pigot have regained by arms, what the ministers have recovered by treaty? Could he, in the sight of a superior fleet, have re-captured Granada, Dominique, St. Kitts, Nevis, and Montserrat? Or might we not too reasonably apprehend, the campaign in the West Indies would have closed with the loss of Jamaica itself, the remnant of our possessions in that part of the globe?"

Mr. Pitt closed this [f]speech with sentiments, that strikingly resembled those which

[e] From the information of naval men, who served in America, this seems to have been incorrect.

[f] At three o'clock in the morning the Speaker put the fourth resolution that had been moved by Lord John Cavendish, "That the concessions made to the adversaries of Great Britain by the said provisional treaty and preliminary articles, are greater than they were entitled to, either from the actual situation of their respective possessions, or from their comparative strength." Upon this the house divided, when there appeared a majority of seventeen for censuring the terms of the Peace.

characterised Nelson: " I have ever been most anxious," exclaimed the minister, " to do my utmost for the interest of my Country; it has been my sole concern to act an honest and upright part. With these principles I ventured forward on the public attention. My earliest impressions were in favour of the noblest and most disinterested modes of serving my country: these impressions are still dear, and will I hope remain for ever dear to my heart. I will cherish them as a legacy infinitely more valuable than the greatest inheritance: it is impossible to deprive me of those feelings, which must always result from the sincerity of my best endeavours to fulfil with integrity, every official engagement."—A further resemblance may also be traced between their respective characters: both displayed the same daring enterprise of mind, and reliance on their own powers; they were equally impatient of controul, and seemed rather born to command and direct others, than to obey and to be advised themselves; and though the happiness of both seemed to arise, from taking an active and leading part in their professional duties, still, however, there were times, when they could speak of retired life, and the resignation of power, as if they had no ambition.

Anno Ætat. 26.

In a preceding [g] letter to Captain Locker, Nelson had expressed his determination to remain unemployed during a Peace; and this he said, not only from motives of economy, but from an inclination at the moment to indulge the natural independence of his disposition. But the stagnation of an inactive life on shore, soon produced that restlessness which forms a peculiar feature in the character of our seamen. He therefore resolved to visit France in company with his friend Captain Macnamara, that he might acquire a knowledge of the French language, which is of so much service to a naval officer. The only account that remains of their Tour, is contained in the following letters to Captain Locker, the first of which is dated from St. Omer, Nov. 2, 1783.

" Our [h] Travels, since we left you, have been extended to much greater length than I apprehended; but I must do Captain Mac the justice to say, it was all my doings, and in a great measure against his advice: but experience bought is the best, and all my inexperience I have paid pretty dearly for. We dined at Canterbury the day we parted from you, and called at Captain Sandy's house, but he was just gone out to dinner in the country, therefore we did not see him. We slept at Dover, and next morning at seven o'clock put to sea with a fine N. W. wind; and at half past ten we were safe at breakfast in Monsieur Grandsire's house at Calais: his mother kept it when Hogarth composed his Gate of Calais. Sterne's Sentimental Journey is the best description I can

[g] See page 56.

[h] Captain Locker's Collection.

give of our tour. Mac advised me to go first to St. Omer, as he had experienced the difficulty of attempting to fix in any place where there are no English. After dinner we set off intending to go to Montrieul, sixty miles from Calais. They told us we travelled *en poste*, but I am sure we did not get on more than four miles an hour. I was highly diverted, in seeing what a curious figure the postillions in their jack boots, and such rats of horses, made together. Their chaises have no springs, and the road is generally paved like London streets: therefore you will naturally suppose we were pretty well shaken together, by the time we had travelled two posts and a half, which are fifteen miles, to Marquees. Here we were shewn into an inn, they called it, I should have called it a pigsty. We were put into a room with two straw beds, and with great difficulty they mustered up clean sheets, and gave us two pigeons for supper, upon a dirty cloth, and laid wooden-handled knives. O what a transition from happy England! But we laughed at the repast, and went to bed with a determination that nothing should ruffle our tempers.

" Having slept very well, we set off at day-light for Boulogne, where we breakfasted: this place was full of English, I suppose because wine is so very cheap. We went on after breakfast to Montrieul, and passed through the finest corn country that I ever beheld, diversified with fine woods, and sometimes, for two miles together, through noble forests. We put up at the same house, and with the same jolly landlord, that recommended la Fleur to Sterne. Here we wished much to have fixed, but neither good lodgings, nor masters, could be procured; for there is no middling class of people. Sixty noblemen's families live in the town of Montrieul, who own the vast plain around it; the rest are very poor indeed. This is the finest country for game that ever was; partridges two-pence halfpenny a couple, pheasants and woodcocks in proportion, and in short every species of poultry. Next day, Saturday, we proceeded upon our tour; leaving Montrieul, as you will suppose, with great regret, we reached Abbeville at eight o'clock. I determined, with Mac's advice, to steer for St. Omer, where we arrived last Tuesday; and I own I was surprised to find it, instead of a dirty, nasty town, which I had always heard it represented, a large city, well paved, good streets, and well lighted. We lodge with a pleasant French family, and have our dinners sent from a *traiteurs*. There are two very agreeable young ladies, daughters, who honour us with their company pretty often; one always makes our breakfast, and the other our tea, and we play a game at cards in the evening; therefore I must learn French, if it is only for the pleasure of talking to them, for they do not speak a word of English. Here are a great number of English in this place; but we visit only two families: if I did, I should never speak French. Two noble captains are here: you do not know, I believe, either of them.

They wear fine [i] Epaulets, for which I think them great coxcombs: they have not visited me, and I shall not, be assured, court their acquaintance. If Charles Pole is arrived, and you write to him, give my kind respects; I esteem him as a brother. You must be heartily tired of this long epistle, if you can read it; but I have the worst pen in the world, and I cannot mend it. God bless you! Direct to me, *a Monsieur Monsieur Nelson, chez Madame Lamourie, St. Omer, en Artois.*'

His next letter is dated from the same place.—' St. Omer, Nov. 26, 1783. Since I wrote last, I have been very near coming to England, occasioned by the melancholy account I have received of my dear Sister's [k] death: my Father, whose grief on the occasion was severe, is, I hope, better, therefore I shall not come over. She died at Bath after a nine days' illness, in the twenty-first year of her age: it was occasioned by coming out of the ball-room immediately from dancing.

' Your time with Captain Reynolds [l] must have been very agreeable: the good opinion he is pleased to entertain of me, is highly flattering, and is more than my short acquaintance with him had a right to expect. The French goes on but slowly; but patience, of which you know I have not much, and perseverance, will I hope make me master of it. Mac was present last night at a very elegant ball: but my mind is too much taken up with the recent account of my dear Sister's death, to partake of any amusements. If I am not in England before the winter is over, I shall go to Paris in the spring; where I have received a most polite invitation from the Officer whom I detained off Porto Cavallo: I did not know his rank at that time, nor afterwards until I came here; he went by the name of the Count de Deux Ponts. He is a prince of the empire, a general of the French army, knight of the grand order of St. Louis, and was second in command at the capture of York Town: his brother is heir apparent to the electorate of Bavaria, and the Palatinate. The present elector is eighty years of age, and this nobleman's brother is upon his death-bed: so most probably I shall have had the honour of taking prisoner a man, who will be a sovereign prince of Europe, and bring into the field near a hundred thousand men. His letter is truly expressive of the attention that was paid him when on board my ship. There are a vast number of English at this place; I visit but few of them: and am very happy in the acquaintance of two; one of whom is the brother of Massingberd, who was in the Lowestoffe; the other is an English clergyman, who has a very large family; but two most agreeable daughters are grown up,

[i] Our naval officers did not wear Epaulets until the year 1795: the order for this regulation was given out on the first of June in that year, when Lord Spencer presided at the board, as mentioned in a subsequent paper.

[k] "Poor Anne Nelson," as this favourite Sister is styled in one of Lord Nelson's memoranda, died Nov. 15, 1783; and was buried at Bathford in Somersetshire.

[l] Lord Ducie.

about twenty years of age, who play and sing to us whenever we go. I must take care of my heart, I assure you.—God bless you, my dear friend.'

During his continuance at St. Omer, the intimacy which he had thus formed with these agreeable daughters of the English clergyman, had again fascinated the susceptible heart of Nelson. This lady, whose name was Andrews, and who is since married, was in every respect worthy of his attentions. There was only one obstacle that prevented their union, but that was an imperious one: neither of them was sufficiently independent. Nelson was therefore reluctantly obliged to retreat, and to hope for better days. But his connexion with this worthy family did not entirely terminate on this occasion. Miss Andrews had a brother, now a captain in the royal navy, who commenced his career in the profession in 1778, under the auspices of Lord Howe; and had returned to his family at the late peace. This gallant officer, who has since been rendered incapable of service, by the fatigue and hardships he experienced in the discharge of his duty, became from this time a follower of Captain Nelson.

The reason which he assigned for his sudden return from the continent is mentioned with some circumstances that had occurred, in two letters to Captain Locker, from Salisbury Street, dated January 19, and 23d, 1784.—' I have been a week without writing to my best friend, and you will be surprised, without doubt, to hear of me at last from London. Some little matters in my accounts obliged me to come over..... January 23. To night the Ministry will try their strength. Charles Phipps, who was here just now, says he believes Mr. Pitt will have a majority: but he speaks probably as he wishes, not as he thinks. On Tuesday I am going to Bath for a few days to see my Father, before I either return to the continent, or go to sea. I have paid my visit to Lord Howe, who asked me if I wished to be employed? which I told him I did: therefore it is likely he will give me a ship. I dined on Wednesday with Lord Hood, who expressed the greatest friendship for me; that his house was always open to me, and that the oftener I came the happier it would make him. Ross is in town. Lutwidge is also here, but I have not seen him. God bless you! and be assured I am your Horatio Nelson.'

It was the end of March, as appears from the following letter to Captain Locker, before he was appointed to the Boreas, 28 guns. It is dated Lancaster Court, March 23, 1784. ' Not having written, my dear friend, for so long a time, I am almost ashamed of telling you I am yet in town. On last Friday I was commissioned for the Boreas in Long Reach, at present under the command of Captain Wells (Lord Keppel's); and, I am also sorry to say, that the same day gave me an ague and fever, which has returned every other day since, and pulled me down most astonishingly. I understand that the Boreas

is going to the Leeward Islands; and I am asked to carry out Lady Hughes and her family. The ship is full of young [m] Midshipmen, and every body is desiring me to take some one or other: I am told she is well officered and manned. I have not seen her as yet; but shall go down to-morrow. I must conclude with saying, Is there any young gentleman you wish me to take? I shall have great pleasure in paying every attention in my power to him. My head distracts me. Therefore I must wish you a good night. Poor Bromwich must go out as master's mate with me; he cannot get confirmed.—Yours most sincerely.'

In this ship, the Rev. William Nelson became again, as he had been at school, the companion of his gallant brother, and embraced the opportunity of visiting the West Indies: He also occasionally officiated as chaplain, as, from the rate of the ship, the Boreas could not have one appointed. The lieutenants were the present Captain Wallis, as first, who had under him Messrs. Dent and Jameson. Some occurrences which took place after the Boreas had left the river, are detailed in the following letter to Captain Locker.—' Portsmouth, April 21, 1784. Since I parted from you, I have encountered many disagreeable adventures. The morning after I left you, we sailed at day-light, just after high water. The damned pilot, it makes me swear to think of it, ran the ship aground, where she remained with so little water that the people could walk round her, until next flood tide. That night, and part of the next day, we lay below the Nore, with a hard gale of wind and snow. Tuesday I arrived in the Downs. Wednesday I got into a quarrel with a Dutch Indiaman who had Englishmen on board; which we settled, though with some difficulty: the Dutchman has made a complaint against me; but the Admiralty fortunately have approved my conduct in the business, a thing they are not very guilty of where there is a likelihood of a scrape: And yesterday, to complete me, I was riding a blackguard horse that ran away with me at Common, carried me round all the works into Portsmouth by the London gates, through the town, out at the gate that leads to Common, where there was a waggon in the road, which is so very narrow that a horse could barely pass. To save my legs, and perhaps my life, I was obliged to throw myself from the horse, which I did with great agility; but unluckily upon hard stones, which has hurt my back and my leg, but done no other mischief. It was a thousand to one that I had been killed. To crown all, a young girl was riding with me, and her horse ran away with mine; but most fortunately a gallant young man seized her horse's bridle a moment before I was dismounted, and saved her from the destruction which she could not have avoided.'

On the 14th of May he wrote again to Captain Locker[n] from Spithead. 'The Com-

[m] Captain Locker's Collection. See Appendix, No. 3.

[n] Captain Locker's Collection.

missioner is now paying my ship. I thank you much for your news, which if true, hostilities must soon commence again with the French; God send it so, I say. If Cornwallis is going out, I shall be a little vexed I am not to be one of the ships.'

Anno Ætat. 26.

On the 19th of May, 1784, the Boreas sailed for her station at Barbadoes and the Leeward Islands. Captain Nelson was at that time a very young man, and had not been many years on the Post list: yet he thoroughly understood every branch of the naval service, and with the utmost zeal and perseverance daily and hourly studied every thing that could possibly tend to promote its advantage. A time of profound peace would seem unlikely to offer opportunities for a display of those talents which his comprehensive mind possessed; but, as he himself often said,° "a Captain of a man of war, if he does his Duty, will find sufficient to occupy his mind, and to render service to his Country, on any station, either in peace or war."

The kindness which those young gentlemen received, who had just commenced their naval career, and the general attention of Captain Nelson to all his officers, are strikingly described in a letter from Lady Hughes to Mr. Matcham; which the latter has obligingly furnished.

"I was too much affected, when we met at Bath, to dwell on every particular that displayed the abilities and infinite goodness of heart of our beloved Hero. As a woman, I can only speak of those parts of his professional conduct, which I could comprehend; such as his attention to the young gentlemen, who had the happiness of being on his quarter deck. It may reasonably be supposed, that among the number of thirty, there must have been timid spirits, as well as bold: the timid he never rebuked; but always wished to shew them, he desired nothing that he would not instantly do himself: and I have known him say, *Well, sir, I am going a race to the Mast head, and beg I may meet you there.* No denial could be given to such a request; and the poor little fellow instantly began to climb the shrouds. Captain Nelson never took the least notice, in what manner it was done: but, when they met in the top, spoke in the most cheerful terms to the midshipman; and observed, how much any person was to be pitied, who could fancy there was any danger, or even any thing disagreeable, in the attempt.

"After this excellent example I have seen the same youth, who before was so timid, lead another in the like manner, and repeat his Commander's words. How wise and at-

° In the succeeding account of the services of the Boreas, and the spirited conduct of Captain Nelson, an essential advantage has been rendered to this work, by the memoir which Captain Wallis, who was her first lieutenant, has furnished: whence this anecdote, and a considerable part of what passed in the West Indies, is extracted. The present Honourable Captain C. Boyle, and Captain W. S. Parkinson, were also on board as midshipmen.

tentive was such conduct in Captain Nelson. On the same principle, he every day went into the school-room, and saw the mode in which they pursued their nautical acquirements; and at twelve o'clock, he was always the first on deck, with his quadrant: no one could then neglect his duty. There is also another anecdote, which deserves to be mentioned: the day we landed at Barbadoes, and were to dine at the governor's, our dear Commander said, "You must permit me, Lady Hughes, to carry one of my *aid de camps* with me:" and he presented him to the governor, adding, "Your Excellency must excuse me for bringing one of my midshipmen: I make it a rule to introduce them to all the good company I can, as they have few to look up to, besides myself, during the time they are at sea." This kindness and attention made the young men adore him, and they vied with each other in an endeavour to anticipate his wishes. Who is there but must allow, that this excellent manner of making his midshipmen feel, that the attainment of nautical knowledge and experience was a pleasure instead of a task, proceeded from the genius and astonishing goodness of heart, which were so conspicuous in Captain Nelson?"

But to return: The Boreas arrived at Madeira on the first of June, and on the 2d, after breakfast, the governor sent the major of his guards, with his state barge, to convey Lady Hughes and her suite on shore, which was politely declined. At half past ten, the ship being completely manned, Lady Hughes and her daughter, attended by Captain Nelson, two lieutenants, the lieutenant of marines, and the Rev. William Nelson, went into the barge; and as soon as she was got to a convenient distance, she was saluted with eleven guns, and three cheers, which were returned from the barge. Captain Nelson was also accompanied, says Captain Wallis in his memoir, by ten midshipmen; so that nothing could have a more respectable appearance. This was his constant mode of paying visits of ceremony, because, in his opinion, it was highly beneficial to his young gentlemen in their professional career; and it is to be lamented that the mode, from its great utility, is not more generally adopted in the service.

After visiting the governor, they paid their respects to Mr. Murray the consul: who neglecting to return this civility, on the score of not being allowed a boat by government for that purpose, Captain Nelson marked this inattention, by having no more intercourse with him, during their stay at Madeira.

On the fourth of June, being the King's birth-day, every thing being previously arranged with the governor, twenty-one guns were fired by the Boreas, and His Majesty's ship Resource, Captain Minchin, who was lying there, as also from a Danish East Indiaman in the harbour, and the two forts on shore; which were duly returned: and after dinner, the healths of the King, Queen, and their thirteen Children, were drank in as many

bumpers. On Sunday, June 6, at the request of the consul, the Rev. William Nelson having performed divine service, and administered the sacrament to the gentlemen of the English factory, received their thanks for his excellent discourse. On Tuesday, June 8th, at 8 P. M. the Boreas got under sail. During the evening of the 14th, the usual pastimes on crossing the line were observed: Old Neptune came on board, and received the customary fine. And here a fresh instance of Captain Nelson's wise precaution occurred. From the experience which he possessed of the pernicious effect of the West India climate on Europeans, who had not been accustomed to it, he gave such directions, as proved of wonderful utility; and tended in a very remarkable degree to preserve the health of his crew, during the vicissitudes of a four years' station. The Boreas arrived at Barbadoes on the 26th of June, and found there, in Carlisle Bay, the Adamant, with the flag of Admiral Sir R. Hughes, the commander in chief; the Mediator, Captain Collingwood; Solebay, Captain J. Holloway; Champion, ——; Latona, Captain Boston; Unicorn, Captain Stirling; Zebra, Captain Edward Pakenham; Rattler, Captain Winifred Collingwood. It was no small degree of satisfaction to Captain Nelson to find himself senior Captain, and second in command on that station.

During the passage of the Boreas down to Antigua, to be laid up for the hurricane months, he paid a visit to Fort Royal, and St. Piere, Martinico; and, on landing, was attended as before mentioned, by all the young gentlemen of the ship who could be spared: on beating into Fort Royal bay, the French officer at the citadel neglected to hoist the colours, a mark of respect that is always observed on the arrival of a foreign ship of war. Captain Nelson immediately demanded an explanation, in a letter to Count Damas, the governor; who ordered the officer to be put under an arrest, and gave such further proofs of his respect for the British flag, as were very satisfactory, and induced Captain Nelson to plead for the release of the officer, which was granted: the most friendly attentions were afterwards shewn to the officers of the Boreas during their stay at the island. On quitting Martinico they stood over for English Harbour, Antigua, where they found the Latona with a [m] broad pendant hoisted: the surprise of Captain Nelson on seeing this, was rather increased than lessened on reading the following Order that had been issued by Admiral Sir R. Hughes:

Mem. In consequence of the Orders given by my predecessors, Lord Rodney, and Admiral Pigot, directing the Commanders of his Majesty's ships and vessels to put themselves under the command of Sir John Laforey, during their stay in English Harbour, &c. you are hereby required and directed to obey the orders of Resident Commissioner Moutray, during the time you may have occasion to remain in English Harbour; and

[m] From Capt. Wallis.

the said Resident Commissioner has my Orders to hoist a broad pendant for that purpose, on board any of his Majesty's ships, in that port, that he may think proper.

Signed, R. Hughes.

Captain Nelson, having well weighed the Admiral's Order, and the tenor of it, concluded that he could not, and ought not, to put himself under the command of a Resident Commissioner; and as this Resident Commissioner's hoisting a broad pendant, was not consistent with the service, since he only enjoyed a civil situation, he exclaimed, "I know of no superior Officers besides the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, and my seniors on the Post List." He therefore determined to resist this innovation; and the moment that his ship had anchored, he sent an order to Captain Sandys of the Latona, to strike the Commissioner's broad pendant, and return it to the dock-yard: which was done accordingly: but to prove that he was not actuated by any other motive in this proceeding, than the good of the service, he went on that very day, and dined with the Commissioner; and brought him the first intelligence of his pendant being struck. Admiral Sir R. Hughes, who was then lying at Barbadoes, as soon as he heard of what had taken place, sent an account of it to the Admiralty, who approved of Captain Nelson's conduct.

On the 24th of September, he gives the following account of himself to [n] Captain Locker. 'Collingwood is at Granada, which is a great loss to me; for there is nobody else that I can make a confident of. In short, I detest this country; but as I am embarked on this station, I shall remain in my ship. Our ears are full of wars in the east, is there any likelihood of a war? I am in a fine trim for the beginning of one, well officered and manned. No man has a higher sense of the obligations he is under to you, than your faithful and devoted Horatio Nelson.

His brother William was obliged, on account of his health, to leave the West Indies on the 30th of September, 1784; and returned to England on board the Fury sloop.

When the hurricane months were over, and whilst the Boreas remained at anchor in Nevis road, a French frigate passed to leeward close along shore. According to Captain Nelson's information, which proved to be correct, this frigate had been sent to make a survey of our West India islands, and had on board two general officers and some engineers. He therefore gave orders to accompany the French ship, that he might prevent them from executing their intentions. The Boreas accordingly got under weigh, and pursuing the frigate, found her the next day at anchor in the road of St. Eustatia: Captain Nelson anchored at about two cables length on the frigate's quarter. After the

[n] Capt. Locker's Collection.

interchange of salutes and other mutual civilities, both himself and his officers were the next day invited by the Dutch governor to dinner, to meet the French officers; and an opportunity was thus afforded Captain Nelson of making known his intentions, which he gladly embraced: He informed the Captain of the frigate, with a courtesy worthy of an experienced statesman, 'that, understanding it was the wish of the French to honour the British West India islands with a visit, he had taken the earliest opportunity in his power to accompany them in his Majesty's ship the Boreas, that such attention might be paid to the officers of his Most Christian Majesty, as every Englishman in the islands would be proud of an opportunity of shewing.' This civility, as might be expected, was not very cordially received by the French; who in their turn protested against giving so much trouble; and more particularly, as they had merely intended to take a cruise round the islands, without landing on any. Captain Nelson was determined to watch them, and strictly adhered to his purpose. The French officers having made repeated attempts to elude his vigilance, but without effect, abandoned their project, and beat up to Martinico. The Boreas immediately beat up for Barbadoes; and never lost sight of the frigate until she was safe in Martinico, whence she had originally sailed.

On the 23d of November 1784, Captain Nelson sailed from English Harbour for the Virgin Islands, and, writing to Captain Locker on the same day, he mentions a part of the service on which he was then employed.—'I cannot say much, as my time is very short, being obliged to sail this morning for the Virgin Islands. Collingwood will send you soon such a letter, that you will think it a history of the West Indies. I am in my way to examine a harbour said to be situated in the island of St. John's; and capable, as it is supposed, of containing a fleet of men of war during the hurricane seasons. It is odd this fine harbour, if such a one there be, should not have been made use of long ago: but there is an order from the admiralty to send a frigate to examine it. It is said here to belong to the Danes; if so, they will not let me [p] survey it.'

Anno Ætat. 27.

At the close of this year, and the beginning of the ensuing one, 1785, Captain Nelson, having no declared enemies to contend with, began to pay that extraordinary attention to the commercial interests of his country, in the West Indies, which proved such a support to his majesty's order in [q] council, July 2d, 1783, respecting the

[p] Captain Locker's Collection.

[q] So early as April 10, 1783, the Governor of Jamaica had directed the officers of his Majesty's customs to give every encouragement to American vessels; which seems afterwards to have been counter-ordered: for according to the Kingston Gazette in the October following, the Hon. House of Assembly in Jamaica, addressed the governor, praying him to suspend the operations of his Majesty's Order in Council, respecting the trade and intercourse between that island and America, for the space of nine months from the date of their address. To which his Excellency was pleased to answer, in general, "that he was so closely tied down by his instructions from the ministry, as to be unable to comply with their request." Subsequent to this, and not owing, as it would seem, to fresh

American trade thither, and became so highly honourable to Nelson's professional abilities. His active spirit would never allow him to remain idle on any station, even during a time of peace, nor to suffer the smallest wishes of his Sovereign to be neglected. He observed, that our West India islands swarmed with American vessels, to the great detriment of the British trade and commerce: for the Americans, taking advantage of the registers of their vessels prior to their independence, and issued, as they said, whilst they were British subjects, were uniformly countenanced by the planters, merchants, and officers of the customs, of our different islands, to the aggrandizement of individuals, and the injury of the commerce of the mother country. He therefore was determined to put a stop, as soon as possible, to this illicit trade; and in a letter to Captain Locker, thus delivers his sentiments on the subject.—' Boreas, Basseterre Road, Jan. 15th, 1785. The longer I am upon this station, the worse I like it. Our Commander has not that opinion of his own sense which he ought to have. He is led by the advice of the islanders to admit the Yankies to a trade, at least to wink at it; he does not give himself that weight which I think an English admiral ought to do. I, for one, am determined not to suffer the Yankies to come where my ship is; for I am sure, if once the Americans are admitted to any kind of intercourse with these islands, the views of the loyalists in settling Nova Scotia are entirely done away; and if we are ever again embroiled in a French war, the Americans will first become the carriers, and next have possession of our islands. The residents of these islands are Americans by connexion, and by interest, and are inimical to Great Britain: they are as great rebels as ever were in America, had they the power to shew it. After what I have said, you will believe I am not very popular with the people: they have never visited me, and I have never been in any house since I came on the station; and all for doing my Duty, by being true to the interest of Great Britain. A petition from the president and council has gone to the governor-general and admiral, to request the admission of Americans. I have given my answer to the admiral upon the subject: how he will like it I know not; but I am determined to suppress the admission of foreigners to the utmost of my power. I have told the custom-house officers that I will complain, if they admit any foreigner to an entry: An American arrives; he has sprung a leak, or a mast, he makes a protest, gets admit-

instructions from the ministry, the operations of his Majesty's Order appear to have been suspended: for in another article in the Kingston paper, it is said, August 15, 1784, "the lieutenant-governor, by listening to the prayers of a suffering people, and granting during pleasure a free trade with the United States of America, for provisions and lumber only, has gained a large portion of well-earned popularity; and it is to be hoped that this act of his honour's power, so distinguished for its humanity, *will meet with the approbation of our most gracious Sovereign, and the Parliament*. How greatly, therefore, though on a separate station in the West Indies, must this have increased the difficulties and odium which Captain Nelson had to struggle against.

tance, sells the cargo for ready money, goes to Martinico, buys molasses, and so round and round: But I hate them all. The loyalist cannot do it, consequently must sell a little [r] dearer.—Rest assured I am ever your affectionate Friend.'

In another letter to Captain Locker, from St. Kitt's, begun March 16th, and ended on the 18th, he adds, 'Since my last I have been at Prince Rupert's Bay, and with great difficulty reached the house which Admiral Parry built upon his land: If you claim it, the taxes are far more than it is worth in its present state.....And now let me tell you a very extraordinary anecdote of Dominica: when the English first took possession of it, they thought it a fine sugar island, and they built by far the best works on it of any island in our possession. But time has proved that the soil is not proper for sugar, as it takes some hundred gallons more of juice to make a hogshead there, than at any other island. Cotton and coffee are the only commodities it will produce in perfection.—News from this ill-fated corner you must not look for. Moutray is gone home a few days ago, so that I lose my only valuable friend in these islands. Every hour convinces me how superior the Jamaica station is to this: all things are extravagantly dear, and no comforts. The Navy are very unpopular, from the governor downwards, for hindering the American ships from trading to the islands. I seldom go on shore, hardly once a month. Mr. and Mrs. Georges are the only people I know upon this island. How have you been this cold winter? What an amiable good man Collingwood is! he is a valuable member of society. Our admiral, with his family, are now making the tour of the islands; they find probably more satisfaction in visiting them than I do, for they are a sad set. Yesterday, being St. Patrick's day, the Irish colours, with thirteen stripes in them, were hoisted all over the town. I was engaged to dine with the president, but sent an excuse, as he suffered those colours to fly. I mention this only to shew the principles of these vagabonds. God bless [s] you! Farewell!'

It was on occasion of the illicit trade, and the cabal formed by men whose duty it particularly was to aid and support the patriotic spirit of Nelson, that a correspondence commenced between him and General Sir Thomas Shirley, Governor of the Leeward Islands; in which the former clearly pointed out the steps to be taken at so important a crisis. But this zeal, and unusual mode of giving advice to a superior, awakening the military jealousy, and irritating the pride of the governor, he replied, "That old generals were not in the habit of taking advice from young gentlemen."—The indignation of Nelson was roused, and his answer was remarkable: "I have the honour, Sir, of being as old as the Prime Minister of England, and think myself as capable of commanding one of his Majesty's ships as that minister is of governing the [t] state."

[r] Capt. Locker's Collection. [s] Ibid. [t] From Captain Wallis' Memoir.

Captain Nelson was well aware, that after the ratification of the Peace in 1783, the Americans became as much foreigners as any other nation; and therefore, by the 12th of Charles the second, which says, "That no foreigners, directly or indirectly, shall have any trade or intercourse with his Majesty's West India islands; the ships to be British built, and navigated at least by three-fourths British Seamen;" he on that authority, notwithstanding the message he had received from the governor, and the powerful opposition that was forming against his individual exertions, ordered all American vessels to quit the islands in forty-eight hours; and declared, that in case of refusal, or their presuming to land their cargoes, he would seize and prosecute them in the court of admiralty.

Here we discern the first appearance of that intuition, that promptness of decision, and reliance on himself, which eventually raised our noble countryman to the eminence he so deservedly attained. We shall frequently observe his mind, in the subsequent periods of his eventful life, subduing equal or superior difficulties by the union of those great endowments which genius seldom unites in so eminent a degree. In these respects, he not only equalled the minister to whom he alluded, but detected errors in the commercial jurisdiction of the West Indies, which had hitherto escaped the notice of government: and in the execution of this arduous duty Nelson appears to breathe the very sentiments, and to have been actuated by the principles of the great statesman of antiquity: "For my part," said Cicero, when rescuing the commerce of the Sicilians and their interests from the monopoly and plunder of Verres, "for my part, I will pursue my own course, and make my way to the favour of the people, and the honours of the state, by my diligence and faithful Services, without regarding the quarrels to which I may expose myself. If in this trial the judges do not answer the good opinion which I have conceived of them, I am resolved to prosecute, not only those who are actually guilty of corruption, but those who are privy to it."[w] And also, when speaking in support of the Manilian law; "I have made it my resolution to prefer your will, the dignity of the republic, and the safety of the provinces, to all my own interests and [x] advantages whatsoever."

Thus did the astonishing capacity of Captain Nelson, with that clearness which denotes a great mind, at once discern how deeply and dangerously the best and dearest interests of his country would be affected by the infraction of our [y] inalienable Naval Rights, not only sanctioned by our navigation acts, but established by the law of nations. He determined, therefore, to continue his utmost exertions whilst he remained on that station, in checking the illicit trade, then carrying on, between the United States and our islands in the West Indies, in vessels belonging principally to the Americans. Without any other

[w] In Verr. 5. 71.

[x] Pro lege Manil. 24.

[y] From the notes of the Right Hon. George Rose.

information, he knew generally, that its Navigation Acts did no more than adapt government to the circumstances of this Country and its Colonies. Experience taught him, that pursuing the wise policy of this system, our naval strength had advanced to that greatness of which he was a most competent witness; and he had, within his own observation, evident proofs of the evils that would arise, as well to our commerce, as our shipping, by pursuing a different line of conduct; since on board almost every vessel that was stopped under his orders, were found large quantities of the manufactures of other nations, intended for the supply of our islands.

Actuated by the strong[z] impression made on him by these considerations, he adopted very effectual means for preventing evils of so much magnitude; taking upon himself, thereby, a severe and extensive responsibility, and certainly without sufficient light to have guided almost any other man in the same situation. With the public interest always in view, he never thought of personal consequences; and with an intelligence, spirit, and energy, almost peculiar to himself, he checked the mischievous practices, which have been alluded to, by repeated seizures, at the risk of damages and expences that might have involved him in ruin: His judgment, however, proved to be equal to his zeal.

In the mean time, the Americans, who had so considerably profited by this intercourse, encouraged by their friends on shore, as well as by the collectors and comptrollers of the different customs of the islands, resisted the threats and orders of Captain Nelson, presuming not only on their right to trade, from the reasons which have been mentioned, but also from an opinion, that the officers of the King's ships had no legal power to seize any vessels, without having deputations from the customs; which they were well assured would not be granted in those seas. Captain Nelson, conscious of the rectitude of his conduct, continued to enforce the orders he had already given, and added, "that he knew no other reason for sending the King's ships abroad in time of peace, but for supporting the trade, and protecting the commerce of his Country." In this zealous discharge of his duty at Barbadoes, Antigua, St. Kitt's, Nevis, &c. he was more particularly supported, at the islands of Granada and St. Vincent's, by Captain Collingwood in the Mediator, and his brother Captain Winefred Collingwood in the Rattler: in consequence of which, great numbers of the American vessels were proceeded against in the Admiralty courts, and were regularly condemned.[a]

The innumerable difficulties, however, under which he had long laboured, now continually increased. The planters were to a man decidedly hostile to his conduct. The governors and presidents of the islands gave him no support; and the Admiral, wavering

[z] From the notes of the Right Hon. G. Rose.

[a] Captain Wallis's Memoir.

between both parties, and having no decided opinion, merely addressed a memorandum to Captain Nelson, advising him, " to be guided by the wishes of the presidents of the council," which not being an order, the intrepid commander of the Boreas still pursued his course. On the arrival of the Boreas at Nevis, 1785, he found four American vessels there, deeply laden, and with what are termed the island colours flying, which are white with a red cross. These vessels were immediately visited,[b] and the masters of them directed, as they knew they were American vessels, and had American cargoes on board, to hoist their proper colours, and leave the island in forty-eight hours: they denied being Americans, and refused to obey the orders of Captain Nelson. Upon which an examination of their crews took place on board the Boreas, in the captain's cabin, and before the judge of the admiralty, who happened to be on board: when they all confessed that they were Americans, and that their vessels, and cargoes, were wholly American property. They were accordingly proceeded against in the court of admiralty at Nevis; and notwithstanding the opinions and pleadings of the greater part of the learned council of the different islands, who had assembled to defend the Americans, in the hope of proving that Captain Nelson, without a deputation from the customs, was not authorised to seize the traders, that great officer pleaded his own cause so ably, and refuted their specious arguments so completely, that the four vessels with their cargoes were condemned as legal prizes to the Boreas.

The American masters on going ashore with their respective followers, were interrogated by an attorney, who had been purposely prepared by the cabal, as to the place, and the manner, in which the depositions had been taken; and now a new scene of duplicity ensued. The masters, led on by the attorney, were induced to declare, that when they gave their depositions they had been put into bodily fear; for a man with a drawn sword (the sentry as is usual at the cabin door) had stood over them during the whole proceeding. Other similar falsities, equally ridiculous, were added; and in consequence, an action of damages to a considerable amount was immediately commenced against Captain Nelson: owing to which, he was confined to his cabin for many weeks, Sundays excepted. The marshal frequently came on board to arrest him, but by fair words, the first lieutenant, Mr. Wallis, was always able to elude his vigilance.

In some letters, addressed during this period to Captain Locker, these events are further illustrated. " Boreas, English harbour, Sept. 4, 1785. Our friend Kingsmill will have told you of my captivity, and of all the disasters I have suffered, by having acted with a proper spirit against the villanies of a certain set of men, who are settled in these islands from America, and have brought the principles of rebels with them. If

[b] Captain Wallis's Memoir.

ministers do not support me, may they find the want of officers to support them. My head has been so much taken up with law, that I have sadly neglected my best friends, who I am sure have great reason to complain of me: but I throw myself upon their generosity, and hope they will be sorry for the employment which has appertained to me for some time past[c]."—" Boreas, off Martinico,[d] March 5, 1786. You accuse me too justly of not writing, but really, for the last year, I have been plagued to death: had it not been for Collingwood, this station would have been the most disagreeable I ever saw..... Sir Richard Hughes you know probably better than myself. I don't like to say much against my Commander in Chief, there has been too much of that the late war: but, from some circumstances that have lately happened, I shall produce my Orders whenever I come home. It was near the hurricane months when I arrived in this country; consequently nothing could be done until they were over in November, when the squadron arrived at Barbadoes, and the ships were to be sent to the different islands, with only orders to examine the anchorages, and whether there was wood and water. This did not appear to me the intent of placing men of war on this station in peaceable times: therefore I asked Collingwood to go with me to the Admiral, for his sentiments and mine were exactly similar. I then asked him, 'If we were not to attend to the commerce of our country, and to take care that the British trade was kept in those channels which the Navigation laws pointed out.' He answered, he had no orders, nor had the Admiralty sent him any Acts of Parliament. I told him it was very odd, as every captain of a man of war was furnished with the Statutes of the Admiralty, in which was the Navigation Act, which Act was directed to admirals, captains, &c. to see it carried into execution. He said, he had never seen the book: but having produced and read the laws to him, he seemed convinced, that men of war were sent abroad for some other purpose, than to be made a show of. He then gave orders to all the squadron to see the Navigation Act carried into execution.

" When I went to my station at St. Kitt's, I turned away all the rebels, not choosing to seize them at that time, as it would have appeared like a trap laid for them. In December, to my astonishment, an order came from the Admiral, telling us he had received good advice, and requiring us not to hinder the Americans from coming in, and having free egress and regress, if the governor chose to allow them; and a copy was enclosed of the orders he had sent to the governors and presidents of the islands. General Shirley, and others, began by sending letters not far different from orders, that they should admit them in such and such situations, and telling me, the admiral had left it to them; but they thought it right

[c] Captain Locker's Collection. [d] Ibid.

to let me know it. Mr. ——, I soon trimmed up and silenced. Sir Richard Hughes was a more delicate business: I must either disobey my orders, or disobey Acts of Parliament: I determined upon the former, trusting to the uprightness of my intentions; and believed that my Country would not allow me to be ruined, by protecting her commerce.

" I first sent to Sir Richard, expatiated on the Navigation Laws to the best of my ability, told him I was certain some person had been giving him advice, which he would be sorry for having taken, against the positive directions of Acts of Parliament; and that I was certain he had too much regard for the commerce of Great Britain, to suffer our worst enemies to take it from us: At a time when Great Britain was straining every nerve to suppress illegal trade at home, which only affected the revenue, I hoped we should not be singular in allowing a much more ruinous traffic to be carried on under the King's flag; and in short, that I should decline obeying his orders, until I had an opportunity of seeing and talking to him: at the same time making him an apology. At first, I hear he was going to send an officer to supersede me: but having mentioned the business to his captain, the latter said, " he believed all the squadron thought he had sent illegal orders; therefore did not know how far they were obliged to obey them." This being their sentiments, he could not try me here; and now he finds I am right, and thanks me for having put him so.

" I told the custom-houses, I should after such a day seize all foreigners I found in our islands; and I kept them out to the utmost of my power until that time. The custom-houses fancied I could not seize without a deputation; therefore disregarded my threats: in May last I seized the first. I had the governor, the customs, all the planters upon me. Subscriptions were soon filled to prosecute me; and my Admiral stood neuter, although his flag was then in the roads. Before the first vessel was tried, I had seized four others; and having sent for the masters on board to examine them, and the marines, on board the vessels, not allowing some of these masters to go on shore, I had suits taken out against me, and damages laid at the enormous sum of 40,000*l.* sterling. When the trial came on, I was protected by the judge for the day: but the marshal was desired to arrest me, and the merchants promised to indemnify him for the act. The judge however having declared he would send him to prison if he dared to do it, he desisted. I fortunately attached myself to an honest lawyer; and, don't let me forget, the President of Nevis offered in court to become my bail for 10,000*l.* if I chose to suffer the arrest; he told them I had only done my duty; and although he suffered more in proportion than any of them, he could not blame me. At last, after a trial of two days, we carried our cause, and the vessels were condemned. I was a close prisoner on board for eight weeks; for, had I been taken, I most assuredly should have been cast for the whole sum. I had nothing left but to send a memorial to the King, and he was good enough to order me to be defended at his

expence, and sent orders to General Shirley to afford me every assistance in the execution of my duty; referring him to my letters, as there was contained in them, what concerned him not to have suffered.

'The Treasury, by the last packet, transmitted thanks to Sir Richard Hughes, and the officers under him, for their activity and zeal in protecting the commerce of Great Britain. Had they known what I have told you; and if my friends think I may, without impropriety, tell the story myself, I shall do it when I get home; I do not think they would have bestowed thanks in that quarter, and neglected me. I feel much hurt, that after the loss of health and risk of fortune, another should be thanked for what I did, and against his orders. I either deserved to be sent out of the service, or at least to have had some little notice taken of what I had done: They have thought it worthy of notice, and yet have neglected me.... But I have done my Duty, and have nothing to accuse myself of.

'Most probably the next time you see me will be as a Benedict: I think I have found a woman who will make me happy. I will tell you more of this shortly, for my paper is full. Adieu, my dear friend; and believe that I am, with the most unfeigned regard and esteem, yours faithfully.'

Amidst the variety of occupations which thenceforward continued to harass and distract his thoughts, Captain Nelson does not seem to have given his friend the account of this attachment which he had intended. It is therefore necessary to supply the omission; that, by representing this extraordinary man under a new and most interesting point of view, some of the most attractive features of his tender and affectionate disposition may appear: and this is the more essential to his high character and reputation, since these features were afterwards distorted and impaired by those infirmities and changes of the mind, which sometimes render the greatest of human beings at variance with themselves.

Mrs. Nisbet, the young and accomplished widow of Dr. Nisbet, who had been physician to the island of Nevis, was the daughter of Mr. Woolward, and had not attained her eighteenth year when she became acquainted with Captain Nelson. Mrs. Nisbet was at St. Kitts, when Captain Nelson, in 1784, paid his first visit to her uncle Mr. Herbert, the president of Nevis, whose liberality at the trial of the Americans has been mentioned; and a letter from a female friend gave her the following account of her future husband:

'We have at last seen the little captain of the Boreas, of whom so much has been said. He came up just before dinner, much heated, and was very silent: yet seemed, according to the old adage, to think the more. He declined drinking any wine: but after dinner, when the president, as usual, gave the three following toasts, the King, the Queen and Royal Family, and Lord Hood, this strange man regularly filled his glass,

and observed that those were always bumper toasts with him; which having drank, he uniformly passed the bottle, and relapsed into his former taciturnity. It was impossible, during this visit, for any of us to make out his real character; there was such a reserve and sternness in his behaviour, with occasional sallies, though very transient, of a superior mind. Being placed by him, I endeavoured to rouse his attention by shewing him all the civilities in my power; but I drew out little more than Yes and No. If you, Fanny, had been there, we think you would have made something of him; for you have been in the habits of attending to these odd sort of people.'

It was nearly six months after this visit, that Mr. Herbert saw Captain Nelson again, and then his appearance was equally singular. On hearing of his arrival, the worthy President had hastened, half dressed, to receive him; and on leaving the room to return to his toilet, he exclaimed, 'Good God! if I did not find that great little man, of whom every body is so afraid, playing in the next room, under the dining table, with Mrs. Nisbet's child.' Josiah Nisbet, who was thus honoured, was then only three years old: and from that time they entertained a mutual regard for each other, until Captain Nelson became his legal guardian and instructor.—A few days afterwards, Mrs. Nisbet had her first interview with Captain Nelson, and thanked him for the great partiality which he had shewn to her little boy. The mild and insinuating manners of this amiable woman attracted the attentions of the enthusiastic Nelson; and she was soon informed by his friend Captain Collingwood, of the conquest she had made. This event did not abate his zeal for the service; and had a very powerful and beneficial effect on the subsequent conduct of Nelson: every thought of whose mind was laid open in the interesting correspondence, which he commenced with this lady. Whatever time he could spare from his numerous professional avocations, was now chiefly devoted to this correspondence, or to a personal attendance at Mr. Herbert's house, which became Captain Nelson's home whenever he landed at Nevis; and in the society of this worthy family he found that solace and relaxation he had long required. The following letter, so honourable to his character, is one of the first that was addressed to Mrs Nisbet:

'Boreas, English Harbour, Sept. 11, 1785. Indeed, my dear Fanny, I had buoyed myself up with hopes, that the Admiral's schooner would have given me a line from you: but the tidings she brought of the release of poor Mrs. Herbert from this world, sufficiently apologise for your not thinking of an absentee. Yet this believe from my heart, that I partake in all the sorrows you experience; and I comfort myself, that however great your grief at this moment may be, at losing a person who was so deservedly dear to you, as your good aunt; yet, when reason takes place, you must rather have pleasure in knowing she is released from those torments she had undergone for months past. Time ever has, and in the present instance I trust may have, a tendency to soften grief into a pleasing

remembrance; and her unspotted character must afford you real comfort. Call Religion to your aid; and it will convince you, that her conduct in this world was such as insures everlasting happiness in that which is to come.

'I have received a letter from Mr. Herbert, in answer to that which I left at Nevis for him. My greatest wish is to be united to you; and the foundation of all conjugal happiness, real love and esteem, is, I trust, what you believe I possess in the strongest degree towards you. I think Mr. Herbert loves you too well, not to let you marry the man of your choice, although he may not be so rich as some others, provided his character and situation in life render such an union eligible. I declare solemnly, that did I not conceive I had the full possession of your heart, no consideration should make me accept your hand. We know that riches do not always insure happiness; and the world is convinced, that I am superior to pecuniary considerations in my public and private life; as in both instances I might have been rich. But I will have done, leaving all my present feelings to operate in your breast: only of this truth be convinced, that I am your affectionate Horatio Nelson.

'P. S. Do I ask too much, when I venture to hope for a line; or otherwise I may suppose my letters may be looked on as troublesome?'

His next letter to Mrs. Nisbet is also dated 'Boreas, English Harbour. My dearest Fanny, What can I say? nothing, if I speak of the pleasure I felt at receiving your kind and affectionate letter: my thoughts are too big for utterance: You must suppose that every thing which is tender, kind, and truly affectionate, has possession of my whole frame. Words are not capable of conveying an idea of my feelings: nothing but reciprocity is equal to it; I flatter myself it is so. I have begun this letter, and left off a dozen times; and found I did not know one word from another. Well, on the Saturday morning after the Berbice schooner left me, Mr. Lightfoot came and paid me a visit, with an apology of his having been confined to his house, or he would have done it before: that, not writing, he meant it as a mark of attention. He prevailed upon me to sleep at his house on Monday last, the day I dined with Sir Thomas Shirley. This great attention made amends for his long neglect, and I forgot all anger: I can forgive sometimes, you will allow. I only came from thence this morning; it is nine miles, and with writing ever since my arrival I feel a little tired; therefore expect nothing but sheer stupidity. I have also seen the great Mr. ——: he says, he understood and believed I was gone to England—Whistle for that! The country air has certainly done me service. I am not getting very fat, my make will not allow it: but I can tell you, and I know your tender heart will rejoice, that I have no more complaint in my lungs than Captain Maynard, and not the least pain in my breast. Pray present my best respects to Dr. Jefferies: I am very much flattered indeed by his good opinion.—Although I am just from salt water, yet, as I

am in a hurry to get the Berbice away, that she may reach Nevis by the evening, I must finish this thing; for letter I cannot call it. I have a newspaper for Miss Herbert; it is all I have to offer that is worth her acceptance; and I know she is as fond of a bit of news as myself. Pray give my compliments to her, and love to Josiah'.—' Boreas, English Harbour, Feb. 25, 1786. My dear Fanny, we landed Mr. Adye yesterday afternoon at St. John's; and, after a disagreeable night, here we arrived this morning. Captain Collingwood is gone into the country, therefore from this place I sail at day-light. You are too good and indulgent; I both know and feel it: but my whole life shall ever be devoted to make you completely happy, whatever whims may sometimes take me: We are none of us perfect, and myself probably much less so than you deserve.'

On the 3d of March, 1786, when off the island of Deseada, he addressed the following letter to Mrs. Nisbet, which, together with the sincerity of his attachment, displays his religious turn of mind, and fraternal affectionate disposition:—' Separated from you, what pleasure can I feel? none, be assured: All my happiness is centred with thee; and where thou art not, there I am not happy. Every day, hour, and act, convince me of it. With my heart filled with the purest and most tender affection, do I write this: for were it not so, you know me well enough to be certain, that even at this moment I would tell you of it. I daily thank God, who ordained that I should be attached to you: He has, I firmly believe, intended it as a blessing to me; and I am well convinced you will not disappoint his beneficent intentions. Fortune, that is, money, is the only thing I regret the want of, and that only for the sake of my affectionate Fanny. But the Almighty, who brings us together, will, I doubt not, take ample care of us, and prosper all our undertakings. No dangers shall deter me from pursuing every honourable means of providing handsomely for you, and yours; and again let me repeat, that my dear Josiah[c] shall ever be considered by me as one of my own: That Omnipotent Being, who sees and knows what passes in all hearts, knows what I have written to be my undisguised sentiments towards the little fellow.—I am uneasy, but not unwell. Nothing but the Admiral's orders to be at Barbadoes at a given time, hindered me from coming down after my letters. Sir Richard Hughes, I am certain, would have overlooked my disobedience of orders, and have thought I had served the friend, who had neglected to bring my letters, very properly. But I cannot bear the idea of disobeying Orders; I should not like to have mine disobeyed: therefore I came on. However, it was a toss-up, I assure you.

' March 9th. At last we are arrived; and as we came into the bay on one side, the Adamant made her appearance on the other. Captain K. has brought me one letter from Antigua; for which one, although I know there are more, I retract all my mischievous

[c] The present Captain Nisbet.

wishes; and I have received several at this place from my sister and brother; the former from Bath, where my old friend Scrivener desires to be kindly remembered to me. I don't think my dear sister knows of my intentions of altering my situation, or she would have mentioned it. My friend M. is still there: but I have not a line. It is wonderful, and I cannot account for it. I know myself to be so steady in my friendships, that I cannot bear the least coolness or inattention in others. My brother takes it for granted I am a married man, and in consequence desires his love. From my uncle Suckling I have a very kind letter, saying, he will do every thing in his power to add to my happiness; and if I should want it, that he will give me pecuniary assistance.[f]—It is strongly reported, that we are to sail from this country in June next: if that is to be the case, my time is short. All this affects my spirits, and will not allow me to feel so pleasant as I wish; and makes me the more regret that I had not paid greater attention to getting money. But I will have done with this subject. You must write often, and long letters.'

'Boreas,' Carlisle Bay, March 25th, 1786. My dear Fanny: Most probably, when the packet arrives, the Admiral's schooner will be so soon hurried away, that I shall not have a moment's time to write . . . . . The inhabitants here are heartily tired of my company. I am ready to give them my room; and they may assure themselves, I will not trouble them one moment longer than I can help: for although my person is with them, my heart, thoughts, and affections are far off. Upwards of a month from Nevis! When I sailed, I hoped by this time to have been there again: but how uncertain are human expectations, and how vain the idea of fixing periods for happiness! I am anxious, yet sometimes fear to receive Mr. Herbert's answer to my letter: Yet why I should fear I know not: for I conceive I wrote nothing but what was proper and right. What signify professions of friendship, if they are never to be put to the test? You, my dear Fanny, are all I care about: If you are satisfied, you will readily believe me, when I say, I shall. But I will give up the subject, and hope for the best.

'The Admiral lives very retired. I have twice dined with him. We are good friends, nor do I think I should soon disagree with him. He seems ready to do every thing I can wish him, and only wants to be well informed. The Governor and Mrs. Parry are very civil: they have given me a general invitation, and always appear glad to see me. For the last week a French man of war has been here; and going about with them so much in the sun has given me violent headaches. I shall expect you will send me a long epistle.—March 29th. I am involved in law, and have custom-house, &c. &c. upon me: but I fear not, being conscious of the rectitude of my intentions. The Admiral is highly pleased with my conduct here, as you will believe, by sending me such fine lines

[f] This was liberally done for some years by Mr. Suckling.

with a white hat. I well know I am not of abilities to deserve what he has said of me: but I take it as they are meant, to shew his regard for me; and his politeness and attention to me is great: nor shall I forget it. I like the man, although not all his acts. If you should shew the lines to any person, I desire it may not be to any officers of the squadron with you; as the compliment is paid to me at their expence. You will understand this as meant to extend to the very near relations of the parties: indeed I do not wish to have them shewn to any one. How is my dear Josiah? Bless you; and believe that I am, with the purest affection, yours most sincerely, Horatio Nelson.'

In order to support himself against the swarm of open and concealed enemies, which his strict and conscientious attention to his duty had brought upon him, and to which he alludes in these letters, he had employed every prudential means which the then limited circle of his political connexions in England afforded: Besides his memorial to the King on this subject, he had represented the whole of these transactions, with the conduct of the different officers of the revenue in the West India islands, to the then Secretary of State; and suggested to him the only mode that could be adopted, to remove every shadow of pretence for the intercourse of the Americans with these islands to the general prejudice of British subjects; as well as the authority, that should be given to officers of the Navy, to seize all illicit traders, without being deputed by the officers of the customs and the excise. The step he recommended government to take was, to change the registers of all vessels; and he also proposed many other similar improvements, and commercial regulations connected with our West India trade, which form the act that was passed under the appellation of the Register Act,[g] the judicious restrictions of which have materially contributed to our naval superiority. By this act it was, amongst other things, established, 'That after the first day of August, 1786, no vessel should be accounted British, unless she were built in the British dominions, or taken as a prize. Every vessel was ordered to have her name, with that of the port she belonged to, conspicuously painted on her stern; and a register to be taken out, wherein, amongst other things, should be mentioned the names of the owners, who were all to reside in the British dominions, unless some of them were members of British factories abroad. No ship built in the United States of America, during the existence of any prohibitory acts was entitled to be registered, unless an especial order to the contrary was issued by the privy council, in consequence of services rendered to the public by its owners.'—But the whole of this act,[h] as originating in the

[g] 26 Geo. III. c. 60, entitled An Act for the further increase and encouragement of Shipping and Navigation.

[h] Four copies of this Act were amongst Lord Nelson's papers, and also two copies of the act 26 Geo. III. c. 40. entitled, an Act for regulating the production of manifests, &c.

judgment of this zealous officer, is well worthy of attention; and, with other acts of a similar nature, demands the minute investigation of professional men[1] in the navy.

When Captain Nelson was so long confined to his ship by the shameful prosecution which had been allowed to be instituted against him, some one of his indignant officers, when in conversation, happened to use the word Pity:—*Pity!* exclaimed Nelson, *Pity, did you say? I shall live, Sir, to be envied: and to that point I shall always direct my course.*

It is singular, that the principle of this wise and patriotic conduct in so young a captain in the Navy, for a long time unsupported by his government, and opposed by his commanding officer, should have been adopted, nearly about the same time, by the French and Spanish governments. This fact is thus noticed by Mr. Macpherson in his Annals of Commerce, under the year 1784. 'During the war, the French had been driven by necessity to admit the entry of foreign vessels in their West India islands, that they might take all their own seamen on board their ships of war, and that their islands might not be starved by the total failure of the supplies, which ought to have been conveyed by their own merchant ships: And the Spaniards, in spite of their characteristic extraordinary jealousy, were obliged to adopt the same expedient. But the temporary advantage was productive of consequences permanently ruinous to their Commerce, and to their Naval Power, which it was intended to support..... The French and Spanish governments, fully sensible of the very great distress, and of the ruinous policy, to which the necessity of their affairs had driven them, immediately after the preliminaries of peace were signed, began to take measures for abridging, and soon after totally abolishing, the liberty they had given to foreigners in their West India ports. In March, 1784, the French confined the Americans, who had hitherto been admitted in several ports of St. Domingo, to the one harbour of Cape Nicholas Mole, and at the same time limited their exports, and threatened to seize all vessels which should be found in any other port of the island, after the 10th of April..... These regulations were soon after set aside by a new arret, dated 30th August, 1784; but not published till the 30th of November. The whole tenour of this arret, while it professedly held out liberty and advantage to foreigners, in fact only allowed the importation of articles which the islands might be in need of, and the exportation of articles which were of no kind of use to themselves, either in the West Indies, or at home; the sale of the goods imported being moreover entirely at the mercy of the resident French merchants, by virtue of the controuling powers vested in their commissaries.'

[1] In opposing the impolitic ideas, then prevalent, in favour of the concessions that had inadvertently been made to the American West India traders, an essential service was rendered to our government by Lord Sheffield, in his *Observations on the Commerce of the American States*; and by Mr. Chalmers, in his *Opinions on interesting Subjects of public Law, and commercial Policy, arising from American Independence.*

The following letters to Mrs. Nisbet are descriptive of the character of Nelson, and detail his proceedings until the time when Sir Richard Hughes was recalled.—' Boreas, Carlisle Bay, April 17, 1786. My dearest Fanny: I have been looking out anxiously for some time past for the Adamant and Berbice, making sure of the pleasure of receiving a letter—but it is not to happen: therefore I must write what I know, and not answers to what you send. My letters from my sister and brother are very kind; and from the former filled with every sentiment of affection for you. I am involved in law; and although every thing will go as I wish it, yet I fear it will keep me this fortnight. I shall wish the vessels at the devil, and the whole continent of America to boot.

' Lord Hood has the command at Portsmouth. I had a letter from him by the packet. I am all anxiety to hear and know what I have to hope for from leeward.

' April 23. All the squadron are now here holding court martials, which will finish to-morrow, when they return to their respective stations, except poor me, who am kept to take care of two yankies; I wish they were a hundred fathoms under water: and when I am likely to be released, I have not the smallest idea. . . . . On Tuesday or Wednesday the Adamant sails for Antigua with Sir Richard—so much for the flag ship; I should be sorry to have one: a Captain in her is never his own master. I am so much out of temper with this island, that I would rather sacrifice any thing than stay. I have been upon the best terms with the Admiral, and I declare I think I could ever remain so. He is always remarkably kind and civil to every one: I told him that no one could think otherwise but you, and I hoped you would be angry with him for keeping me away so very long. Whenever I can settle about my prizes here, I shall sail directly for Nevis. How is my little Josiah?—I sent yesterday, the moment the Admiral told me the schooner was going to Nevis, for nobody but myself knew it, as polite a note as I was able to ——. The servant brought word back there was no answer; not even ' much obliged,' ' thank you,' or any other word but what I have told you: I may be uncivilly treated once, and then it is my misfortune; but if I put it in any person's power to be so a second time, it's my fault.—Farewell for a little time; and bless you, with all my heart and soul; and do believe, and never doubt, but that I am, with the most sincere affection, ever your Horatio Nelson.'

' Boreas, May 4th, 1786, Barbarous Island. My dearest Fanny: Never, never, do I believe, shall I get away from this detestable spot: Had I not seized any Americans, I should now have been with you: But I should have neglected my duty, which I think your regard for me is too great, for you to have wished me to have done: Duty is the great business of a Sea Officer. All private considerations must give way to it, however painful it is. But I trust that time will not have lessened me in the opinion of Her, whom it shall be the business of my future life to make happy. Bless you, bless you. Ever, with the greatest affection, your Horatio Nelson.'

About the month of July, 1786, Admiral Sir Richard Hughes, being recalled, was directed to deliver up his command to Captain Nelson, who was the senior officer left on the station.

The following letter displays the exquisite sensibility of his feelings: it also forcibly marks how much his mind had been harassed by a conscientious discharge of his professional duty. ' Boreas, English Harbour, August 19th, 1786. My dearest Fanny, Having seen in this day's newspaper that a vessel cleared out from St. John's to Nevis a few days ago, I feel vexed not to have had a letter in the office for you: however, if I can help it, I will not be behindhand again. To write letters to you is the next greatest pleasure I feel to receiving them from you. What I experience when I read such as I am sure are the pure sentiments of your heart, my poor pen cannot express, nor indeed would I give much for any pen or head that could describe feelings of that kind: they are worth but little when that can happen. My heart yearns to you, it is with you, my mind dwells upon nought else but you. Absent from you, I feel no pleasure: it is you, my dearest Fanny, who are every thing to me. Without you I care not for this world; for I have found lately nothing in it but vexation and trouble.

' These, you are well convinced, are my present sentiments: God Almighty grant they may never change. Nor do I think they will: indeed there is, as far as human knowledge can judge, a moral certainty they cannot: for it must be real affection that brings us together, not interest or compulsion, which make so many unhappy.

' I have not been able to get even a cottage upon a hill, notwithstanding my utmost endeavours; and therefore have been kept here most wofully pinched by mosquitoes, for my sins perhaps, so the generous inhabitants of Antigua think, I suppose; not one of whom has been here, or has asked me to leave English Harbour: but I give them credit for not paying attention to me, to another cause, That I am a faithful servant to that Country which most of them detest, and to which all their actions are inimical: I wish not for a better proof from them of my having done my duty. These gentlemen I shall in my mind hold very cheap in future: but I will have done with such trash. I am not that jolly fellow, who for a feast and plenty of wine, would sacrifice the dearest interests of his Country: they are fond of those gentry.

' Leave all Antigua by itself, 'tis not fit company for the other parts of the letter.

' Monday, seven in the evening. As you begin to know something about Sailors, have you not often heard, that salt water and absence always wash away love? Now I am such a heretic as not to believe that faith: for behold, every morning since my arrival, I have had six pails of salt water at day-light poured upon my head, and instead of finding what the seamen say to be true, I perceive the contrary effect; and if it goes on so contrary to the prescription, you must see me before my fixed time. At first I bore

absence tolerably, but now it is almost insupportable; and by and by I expect it will be quite so. But patience is a virtue; and I must exercise it upon this occasion, whatever it costs my feelings. I am alone in the Commanding Officer's house, while my ship is fitting; and from sun-set until bed time, I have not a human creature to speak to: you will feel a little for me I think. I did not use to be over fond of sitting alone. The moment old Boreas is habitable in my cabin, I shall fly to it, to avoid mosquitoes and melancholies. Hundreds of the former are now devouring me through all my clothes. You will however find I am better: though when you see me I shall be like an Egyptian mummy, for the heat is intolerable. But I walk a mile out at night without fatigue, and all day I am housed. A quart of goat's milk is also taken every day, and I enjoy English sleep, always barring mosquitoes; which all Frank's[k] care with my net cannot keep out at present.—What nonsense I am sending you! But I flatter myself the most trivial article concerning me, you feel interested in. I judge from myself; and I would rather have what passes in your mind, than all the news you could tell me, which did not concern you. Mr. Horsford our neighbour came to visit me, making many apologies for his neglect, and pressing me much to come to his house, which has Boreas in view.' Also the Comptroller of the Customs with fine speeches: he may go back whistling if he pleases. I cannot add any thing further, for I do not know if you would read more than a sheet full.

'August 23d. At any rate I will shew some mercy. Berbice arrived yesterday. All at home are well. I am still apt to suppose this winter will carry me to England. Pringle has been at Portsmouth, so says Lord Hood; he longs to see you. May every blessing attend my far better half, and may I soon be with you, is the sincere wish of your most affectionate Horatio Nelson.'

In a subsequent letter to Mrs. Nisbet,[l] dated English Harbour, Sept. 23, 1786, he adds, 'On the 9th of October, barring something extraordinary, you will certainly see H. N. again, and, I need not say, if it be possible, with a stronger affection than when he left you. My letter is short, but my mind could say the paper full; therefore don't let that be a reason for your writing either a short letter, or making the lines very wide from each other. . . . . Believe that I am ever the same Horatio.'

His feelings were at this time much hurt at not receiving any thanks or approbation from the government at home. He alludes to this in a letter to Captain Locker, dated Boreas, English harbour, Sept. 27, 1786. 'It is an age since I had the pleasure of hear-

[k] Frank Lepée, still living, an early and faithful servant of Captain Nelson, who was with him on the San Juan expedition.

[l] All these letters to Mrs. Nisbet, before her marriage with Captain Nelson, have been furnished by Mrs. Ross, her Ladyship's relation.

ing from you: yet be assured, my good friend, that my gratitude for the many favours I have constantly received, does not fail; no, they are fresh in my remembrance.—If you got my letter from Barbadoes in May last (I ought to be ashamed of the date) you will have some idea of my troubles. Nor will they ever end, as I plainly perceive, while I am in this country. This must always be the case, where officers neglect their duty; then rogues thrive; and certainly there is not a custom-house officer, governor, &c. that I have met with, who has done his duty: therefore the latter party is kept up, and my hands remain full of business. It is not more strange than true, that I was not only obliged to support myself against the most violent prosecutions that could be laid against an officer; but instead of being supported by my Admiral, I was obliged to keep him up, for he was frightened at this business; which, although I hope it is now completed, he appeared ready I thought, when he got home, to receive any thanks that might be offered him for his alertness and attention to the Navigation of Great Britain. God knows, I envy no man's praises; but don't let him take what is due to others.—Collingwood, I hope, has been down to see you: he will tell you a history. When we are to expect Sir Richard Bickerton, or when Boreas goes home, I am all in the dark: as it is not in the autumn, I hope they will have mercy enough not to give us a winter's passage. I think I have already written to Kingsmill; but really I have been since June so very ill, until lately, that I have only a faint recollection of any thing which I did. My complaint was in my breast; such an one as I had going out to Jamaica. The doctors thought I was in a consumption, and gave me quite up: but that Great Being, who has so often raised me from the sick bed, has once more restored me, and to that health which I very seldom enjoy.'

This indefatigable servant of his country now turned his mind towards correcting the abuses in the dock-yard at Antigua, as well as among the contractors, prize agents,[m] Greenwich hospital money, &c. which, both on this station, and on his return home, he pursued with his usual ardour. But in the progress and accomplishment of this great national service, on which his mind was now so constantly employed, he was during the month of November, 1786, joined and supported by his Royal Highness Prince William Henry, Captain of the Pegasus.[n] The friendship that had before subsisted between these illustrious Seamen, had been kept up by an occasional correspondence; and they now formed that permanent regard for each other, which became so highly honourable and beneficial to both. From the month of November, 1786, to the end of the spring in 1787, when the

[m] This was a favourite subject with him afterwards. See Appendix, No. 4.

[n] His Royal Highness arrived in November, 1786, on the Leeward Island station from Halifax in Nova Scotia, to which place he had gone on the 8th of October. His arrival in America was thus noticed: "His Royal Highness landed amidst the acclamations of a numerous and loyal people. He was welcomed on shore by Major General Campbell, and his Excellency Governor Parr, by whom he was conducted to the Government-house. His Royal Highness at landing expressed his desire, that all military form and etiquette with respect to him should be laid aside: but it was found impossible to stop the joy which broke forth, and pervaded all ranks of people."

Prince went down to Jamaica, his Royal Highness and Captain Nelson dined alternately with each other. It was this era, as his Royal Highness acknowledges,° that first formed his character as a naval officer, and was employed in a manner highly gratifying to his feelings. " It was then," adds the Prince, " that I particularly observed the greatness of Nelson's superior mind. The manner in which he enforced the spirit of the Navigation Act, first drew my attention to the commercial interests of my country. We visited the different islands together; and as much as the manœuvres of fleets can be described off the headlands of islands, we fought over again the principal naval actions in the American war. Excepting the naval tuition which I had received on board the Prince George, when the present Rear Admiral G. Keates was lieutenant of her, and for whom both of us equally entertained a sincere regard, my mind took its first decided naval turn from this familiar intercourse with Nelson."

The following extracts from some letters to Mrs. Nisbet illustrate still farther the animated regard which he possessed for his royal pupil. In one dated off Antigua, Dec. 12, he says, 'Our young Prince is a gallant man: he is indeed volatile, but always with great good nature. There were two balls during his stay, and some of the old ladies were mortified that his H. R. H. would not dance with them: but he says, he is determined to enjoy the privilege of all other men, that of asking any lady he pleases.—Wednesday. We arrived here this morning at day-light. His Royal Highness dined with me, and of course the Governor. I can tell you a piece of news, which is, that the Prince is fully determined, and has made me promise him, that he shall be at our wedding; and he says, he will give you to me. His Royal Highness has not yet been in a private house to visit, and is determined never to do it, except in this instance.—You know I will ever strive to bear such a character, as may render it no discredit to any man to take notice of me. There is no action in my whole life, but what is honourable; and I am the more happy at this time on that account; for I would, if possible, or in my power, have no man near the Prince, who can have the smallest impeachment as to character: for as an individual I love him, as a Prince I honour and revere him. My telling you this history is as to myself: my thoughts on all subjects are open to you.—We shall certainly go to Barbadoes from this island, and when I shall see you is not possible for me to guess: so much for marrying a sailor. We are often separated, but I trust our affections are not by any means on that account diminished. Our Country has the first demand for our services, and private convenience, or happiness, must ever give way to the public good. Give my love to Josiah. Heaven bless and return you safe to your most affectionate Horatio Nelson.'

The high opinion which he entertained of Prince William Henry, is more fully marked in a letter to Captain Locker, dated English Harbour, December 29, 1786, when he thus

° From minutes of conversation with his Royal Highness the Duke of Clarence.

addressed that early and stedfast friend: ‘ I am sure it is a full twelvemonth since I have had a line: You will say I do not deserve it—oftener than that, however, for since May, I know of three letters which I put myself into the packet. If you think me unmindful of the favours and kindnesscs I received at your hands, you do me injustice. I am at this moment more thankful for them than I was when they were granted: then I was not so capable of judging of their value. Let this be your opinion of Horatio; and I trust it will be so for the future.

‘ You must have heard long before this reaches you, that Prince William is under my command: I shall endeavour to take care that he is not a loser by that circumstance. He has his foibles, as well as private men, but they are far overbalanced by his virtues. In his professional line he is superior to near two thirds, I am sure, of the list; and in attention to orders, and respect to his superior officer, I hardly know his equal: this is what I have found him.

‘ I am in momentary expectation of Sir Richard Bickerton, from reports, for the Admiralty are wonderfully secret. I wish he was arrived, for this state of uncertainty is very unpleasant. The Prince is to remain in these seas until May, when he returns to Nova Scotia, at which time I hope to set sail for Old England; for I am most heartily sick of these islands. Heaven bless you, my dear friend; and believe that I am unalterably yours.’

On the first day of the new year, 1787, in which his marriage took place, the correspondence with Mrs. Nisbet is thus continued. ‘ How vain are human expectations! I was in hopes to have remained quiet all this week: but to day we dine with Sir Thomas, to-morrow the Prince has a party, on Wednesday he gives a dinner at St. John’s to the regiment, in the evening is a mulatto ball, on Thursday a cock-fight, and we dine at Colonel Crosbie’s brother’s, and a ball; on Friday somewhere, but I forget, on Saturday at Mr. Byam’s the President. If we get well through all this, I shall be fit for any thing; but I hope most sincerely the Commodore will arrive before the whole is carried into execution: In many instances it is better to serve than command, and this is one of them. If the Commodore does not come down and relieve me, I think it likely we shall remain here all this month at least: for the ship’s company of the Pegasus are sick, and I cannot with propriety leave H. R. H. by himself. Should Sir Richard Bickerton come down, and I think he must be at Barbadoes, and send me to Nevis, I will bless him: yet I would sooner die than ask any favour. If he is polite, he will do it without; if not, he would perhaps refuse me with asking, and I should not like the mortification. What is it to attend on Princes? Let me attend on you, and I am satisfied. Some are born for attendants on great men: I rather think that is not my particular province. His Royal Highness often tells me, he believes I am married; for he never saw a lover so easy

or say so little of the object he has a regard for. When I tell him I certainly am not, he says, " Then he is sure I must have a great esteem for you, and that it is not what is (vulgarly) I do not much like the use of that word, called love. He is right: my love is founded on esteem, the only foundation that can make the passion last. I need not tell you, what you so well know, that I wish I had a fortune to settle on you: but I trust I have a Good Name; and that certain events will bring the other thing about: it is my misfortune, not my fault. You can marry me only from a sincere affection; therefore I ought to make you a good husband, and I hope it will turn out that I shall. You are never absent from my mind in any place or company. I never wished for riches, but to give them to you; and my small share shall be yours to the extreme. A happy new year! and that many of them may attend you, is the most fervent wish of your affectionate Horatio Nelson.'

' Boreas, Montserat, Feb.11, 1787. My dear Fanny: we are at last out of English Harbour again, and so far, I am on my way to be with you. I anticipate with pleasure our meeting; for never do I feel truly happy when separated from you. Length of time often, too often, gives proof of the failings of human nature, and how difficult it is to be perfect. You have given me a proof that your goodness increases by time. These I trust will ever be my sentiments: if they are not, I do verily believe it will be my folly that occasions it.—Never think otherwise, than that I am, in the fullest sense of the word, most affectionately your Horatio Nelson.'

His constant attendance on Prince William enabled Captain Nelson to examine minutely the character and abilities of his royal pupil: and he thus again delivered his opinion in a letter to Captain Locker, dated from Montserrat: ' I am here with the Pegasus and Solebay. His Royal Highness keeps up strict discipline in his ship; and without paying him any compliment, she is one of the first ordered frigates I have seen. He has had more plague with his officers than enough. I have been obliged to put the first lieutenant under arrest; as he had written for a court martial on himself, to vindicate his conduct, because his captain thought proper to reprimand him in the order book: in short our service has been so much relaxed during the war, that it will cost many a court martial to bring it up again. The following is an extract from my letter to the lieutenant: " I beg leave to assure you, that I never was more hurt, than that an officer, whom I so much respected, should do such an improper act, as to deprive his Majesty of the exertions of one of his servants at a time they are so much wanted. My orders to the squadron were issued to prevent other officers from falling into the same snare. I have no charge against you, nor can any other person have one, until the court martial, which you have desired to be held to investigate your conduct, is over; and then I can tell you, that I have no charge whatsoever against you. Your confinement is your own; and had you not written to me

for a court martial, I dare say you would never have given me occasion to put you under arrest. Had I not ordered you into arrest, you might then have blamed me, for having left you again to be unjustly accused, as set forth in your letter."

'I am kept in utter darkness who is coming to this country. Since August, when Sir Richard Hughes left the station, the Admiralty have not written me a single line, except an order to take the Pegasus and Solebay under my command. Many things have happened, and they have neither approved nor otherwise of my conduct: It may be all right, but I cannot understand it. Pray remember me kindly to the Bradleys, and to Lord Ducie, and any others, that may please to honour me with their remembrance.'

Although no notice appears to have been taken either of Captain Nelson's great exertions on this station, respecting the American illicit trade, or of the information he had sent home; yet in the debate which took place in the House of Commons, on the very subject to which these exertions had been directed, March 14, 1787, the House having resolved itself into a committee, Mr. W. Grenville, who spoke at considerable length on the subject, observed, " That when, by the King's proclamation, the Americans were excluded from supplying the West India islands with articles necessary for their consumption, in American bottoms; some gentlemen had apprehended that those islands would be reduced to great distress, supposing that Great Britain could not furnish a sufficient supply for all their wants. But experience has proved, that their fears were ill founded; as greater quantities of all sorts of commodities have been imported into our West India islands, since they have been shut to American-built vessels, than ever were before, in any given period of time. . . . . And this country has consequently derived great benefit from the policy that confined the intercourse between the United States, and our islands, to British bottoms. It has highly improved our navigation, as will appear to gentlemen, when I assure them, that this trade employs 58,000 tons of shipping, and nearly 4000 seamen." He therefore proposed, that the importation of grain, lumber, &c. from the United States, should be confined to British ships, to the exclusion of all others; and concluded by desiring, That the chairman be directed to move the House, for leave to bring in a bill, to vest in his Majesty, for one year more, the power of regulating, by his royal proclamation, the commercial intercourse between his Majesty's dominions, and the United States in America."

The silence from the Admiralty board, which the indefatigable Nelson so much complained of, was succeeded by the following letter, dated Admiralty Office, 9th March, 1787. 'Sir: I received on the 1st instant your letter of the 7th of January last; and having laid the same before my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, I am commanded by their Lordships to acquaint you, that they are no less surprised than concerned at the informa-

tion of the defects of the Pegasus, as stated therein; that they assure themselves the necessary repairs have been given to the ship at Antigua, and they have directed the particulars thereof to be reported by the earliest opportunity, that the cause of such apparent neglect, in the first fitting of the ship, may be fully investigated.

'Their Lordships approve of the dispositions you have made of the stationed ships, since the command thereof devolved on you, correspondent to their intentions heretofore signified thereon; and command me to inform you, that they should have transmitted further directions for the purpose, if they had thought those already communicated to you not sufficient for your government in the mean time.

'Your letter of the 2d of December, which you mention to have sent by a merchant ship, is not yet come to hand: but your letter dated in May, respecting the refusal of the Judge of the Vice-admiralty of Barbadoes to take cognizance of two ships which had been seized at that island, was received in July; and, with the letters from Sir Richard Hughes upon the same subject, was laid before the law servants of the Crown for their opinion; which opinion will be communicated to you, when my Lords receive the further opinion of that council upon the complaint which has been since made, by the Judge of the Vice-admiralty court against you, for having taken those vessels from under his jurisdiction. Your other letters of the 25th of August, 25th of September, and 4th of October, were received together, on the 23d of November, and are answered separately by this conveyance. I am, Sir, your most humble servant, Philip Stephens.'

Captain Nelson's health had experienced a relapse during the month of February; for on writing to Mrs. Nisbet, from on board the Boreas, on the 28th of that month, he says, 'Indeed I am not well enough to write much, and I have a good deal of fag before me. Captain Holloway is gone from us. Captain Newcome is laid up: therefore poor I must be worked: and I am the more mortified, as I purposed, when the Prince went over to the other side of the island, to have escaped that trip, and have got a few hours to see you: but that is all over. It is possible his Royal Highness may stop at Nevis in his way up from Tortola. This, however, shall be his own act, and not mine. To day we dine with the merchants; I wish it over. To morrow a large party at Nicholas Town, and on Friday in town here. Saturday sail for old Road; Sunday dine on Brimstone Hill; Monday, Mr. George's at Sandy Point, and in the evening the free masons give a ball. Tuesday, please God, we sail. I did not like the cast of the day at Mr. ——, and I cannot carry two faces. Farewell 'till to morrow, and be assured I am ever your affectionate Horatio Nelson.' In another letter to Mrs. Nisbet, dated March 3d, he adds, 'My journey to Nicholas town was too great a fag in the height of the sun: I was very ill after it; and nothing but his Royal Highness's attention, and condescension, could or should make

me go through it. However I am quite well this morning; and as we shall be pretty quiet to-day, I hope to be able to bear to-morrow, and Monday, tolerably well. We shall most likely be at Nevis about the 18th; but keep this to yourself.'

The last letter to Mrs. Nisbet previous to their marriage, is dated 'Boreas, Sandy Point, March 6th, 1787. How uncertain are the movements of us sailors! His Royal Highness is rather unwell; therefore I have given up the idea of visiting Tortola for the present. To-day we dine with Mr. Georges at his country house. I am now feeling most awkwardly: his Royal Highness has been with me all this morning, and has told me, that as things here are changed, if I am not married when we go to Nevis, it is hardly probable he should see me there again; that I had promised him not to be married, unless he was present; that he wished to be there, to shew his esteem for me, and should be much mortified if impediments were thrown in the way. He intends this as a mark of honour to me; as such I wish to receive it. Indeed his Royal Highness's behaviour throughout, has been that of a Friend, instead of a person so elevated above me. He told me this morning, that since he had been under my command he has been happy; and that I should find him sincere in his friendship. Heaven bless you; and I need scarcely say, how much I am your affectionate Horatio Nelson.'

The marriage of Captain Nelson and the accomplished Frances Herbert Nisbet, at length took place in a very private manner at Nevis, on the 11th of March, 1787. The bride was given away by his Royal Highness; who with many others congratulated their friend in having borne off the principal favourite of the island. An early opportunity was taken to inform Captain Locker of this long-wished-for event:—'Boreas, on her passage to Tortola, March 21, 1787. My time, since November, my dear friend, has been entirely taken up in attending the Prince on his tour round these islands.[q] However, except Granada, this is the last; when I shall repair to English Harbour, and fit the Boreas for a voyage to England. Happy shall I be when that time arrives: no man has had more illness, or trouble on a station, than I have experienced: but let me lay a balance on

[q] The following letters from the West Indies at that time, furnish some information respecting this Tour, (February 11.) "Prince William Henry has been at Antigua for some time past, repairing his ship, where all ranks are vying with each other in making grand entertainments for their illustrious visitor. The Prince is quite the officer. He has not slept a night out of his ship since his arrival in these seas, until coming into English Harbour; when the ship's heaving down obliged him to be on shore. He shews the most amiable disposition and condescension on every occasion: sees into the detail of the business of the ship; and delivers his own orders with the most minute attention to the duty and discipline of his crew."—(Dominica, Dec. 20.) "On the 11th arrived here the Pegasus, his Royal Highness Prince William Henry Commander. He was received by the Governor, the legislature, and the officers of the 30th regiment, who paid him the highest honours. Two French sloops are arrived with the congratulations of the Viscount de Damas, Governor of Martinico, and of the Baron de Clugny, Governor of Guadaloupe, on his Royal Highness's arrival in the West Indies, and a request that he would favour those islands with a visit."

the other side—I am married[r] to an amiable woman, that far makes amends for every thing. Indeed, until I married her, I never knew happiness: and I am morally certain she will continue to make me a happy man for the rest of my days. I shall have great pleasure in introducing you to her. Prince William did me the honour to stand her father upon the occasion; and has shewn every act of kindness, that the most sincere friendship could bestow. His Royal Highness leaves this country in June, by which time I hope my orders will arrive, or that somebody will be appointed to the command. The wonder to me is, that any independent man will accept it; for there is nothing pleasant to be got by it. Farewell, my dear Sir; and believe me to be ever your affectionate Horatio Nelson.'

There were, however, some of his brother officers, who feared lest so early a marriage might abate the enterprise and patriotism of their friend; and their apprehensions on this occasion form an additional proof of the great expectation which professional men then entertained of his future eminence. It was the remark of his, and Mrs. Nisbet's, intimate acquaintance, the late brave Captain Pringle,[s] when he met one of the Commodore's officers, on the day after his marriage; "*The Navy, Sir, yesterday lost one of its greatest ornaments, by Nelson's marriage. It is a national loss that such an officer should marry: had it not been for that circumstance, I foresaw that Nelson would become the greatest man in the service.*" But this excellent officer did not sufficiently know the woman whom Captain Nelson had married: she possessed all the attractions of her sex, with a sound judgment, and a cultivated understanding. And her husband often declared, as many of his followers have asserted, that he considered this marriage of equal service to his character, as any naval exploit he had achieved. No step was ever taken, nor any letter dispatched, without first being submitted to the opinion of this respected counsellor.

That neither his professional zeal nor ardent patriotism were abated by the above event, is evident from the following letters, that were found amongst his papers; and which prove how much he was afterwards harassed, by resolutely persevering in the detection of public frauds in the West India islands. Some of these letters are without date, and one without any address. The first to Sir Charles Middleton, now Lord Barham, is dated Boreas, Nevis, 2d May, 1787; and throws considerable light on what has been already mentioned.—'Sir: as a fraud is likely to be discovered in the naval department under your direction, I think it proper to make you acquainted with it; that villainy may be punished, and frauds prevented in future. But before I proceed, I cannot help mentioning a circumstance which hurt me, when I was first left in the command here.

[r] His sister had just before this been married, February 26th, to George Matcham, Esq. at Bath.

[s] Died an Admiral in Scotland.

The deputy naval officer brought me bills to sign for money, which was owing for goods purchased. I insisted upon having the original vouchers brought to me, that I might examine if they were really purchased at the market price, and that government was not cheated: this I could not obtain; and I therefore wrote to your board upon the subject of my approval of bills, without being convinced that the former money, I had approved of drawing for, had been expended to my satisfaction, and laid out in the most advantageous manner for government. The answer seemed to imply, that you thought the old forms were sufficient; which consisted only in a certificate from the naval officer, and the master shipwright, that so much money was wanted. Since that period, Sir, I have been less close in my examination; as I should have been very sorry to have incurred the displeasure of a gentleman who stands so high as you do, both as a professional man, and in the department which you fill with so much honour.

'I enclose you the accounts of the fraud from March to June, 1782. . . . . It will be necessary I should tell you who these gentlemen are, that have given the information: they were the partners of —— ——. Mr. W. is a very shrewd sensible man. Mr. H. is likewise a man of business. W. has been in various departments of government, in St. Lucia, Barbadoes, &c. and assures me, he can discover all the frauds committed there, as easy as these, if government think proper to reward them. Indeed they do not seem to be playing the fool; for if nothing is recovered they desire nothing, and of what is actually recovered, only a certain per centage.

'The business of negro hire is yet not conducted in the manner you wish. If, Sir, when I arrive in England, you choose to have any conversation upon this subject, I shall be happy to give you every information in my power. I have been merely a temporary commanding officer here, and have been expecting, since October, a senior officer: therefore I did not choose to enter into the minutiæ of the yard, which, as commander in chief, I certainly should have done. I have the honour to be, &c.'

The second letter on this subject is without date, and is addressed to the Duke of Richmond, then Master General of the Ordnance. 'My Lord: the subject of this letter will, I trust, render all apologies unnecessary for my addressing myself to you. A few days ago, Mr. H. and W. merchants in the island of Antigua, came to English Harbour, to communicate to his Royal Highness, and myself, that they were privy to great frauds which had been committed upon government. . . . . The Ordnance being in your Grace's department, I shall not trouble you with any other, but be as explicit as I am able. As his Royal Highness could not attend to this business, he desired me to make the necessary inquiries, and to take such steps as I should think proper. . . . . These gentlemen, as will appear by the enclosed letters, are not publishers of this fraud merely for the honour of serving the public; interest has its weight. I send you an account of one quar-

ter's fraud, and I examined several in the books: but they declined my having more, until they were satisfied government would reward them in proportion to the frauds discovered. As a man who has more than once stood forward to detect and bring to punishment those who are guilty of defrauding the public, I may venture to express myself freely. . . . . In Antigua, in the different departments, at least they say 300,000*l.*; at St. Lucia as much; at Barbadoes not far short; and at Jamaica, upwards of a million. What of this may be recovered, if any, I know not: however, this good effect it surely will have, that of preventing the like in future.

'Probably by the time your Grace receives this letter, the Boreas will have sailed for England, where I shall ever be ready to give your Grace any information you may wish to receive. But there is one observation, which I beg leave to make: It will be said, "Vouchers are produced, and merchants have attested that they are at the market-price." In this country the market-price is what an article will sell for; and there is no merchant here, but will declare, that in signing vouchers for each other, they never look at the articles; saying, *A thing is always worth what it will bring*: therefore vouchers are my Lord, no check in this country. I have the honour to remain, &c.'

The third letter, which is also without date, and is addressed to Lord Howe, then first Lord of the Admiralty, varies but little from the preceding ones: Captain Nelson thought that the subject of his letter was sufficient to authorise him to send it immediately to the first Lord, and not to the Board.—The one that follows is without any address, dated Boreas, Nevis, May 4th, 1787, and was probably sent to the Secretary of the Treasury:

'Sir: as frauds in the different departments of government are in a train to be discovered, and that to a very large amount, I have thought it proper to send all the papers and circumstances relative to it, at once to you. On the 13th of April, a Mr. H. and W. merchants in the island of Antigua, gave his Royal Highness information that frauds had been committed upon government. Since which time I have endeavoured to make myself master of this subject, and have examined a variety of books and papers . . . . from which it appears, that government has been defrauded in a most scandalous and infamous manner. The only emulation I can perceive is, Who could cheat most.

'Vouchers have hitherto been deemed a sufficient check in the purchasing of stores, since the market-price must be known: the Commissioners appointed to examine the public accounts of the kingdom, in their Sixth Report were the first[t] who doubted the credit of

[t] The attention of Captain Nelson was directed to these Reports by the merchant, Mr. W. as appears from the following letter, that was sent to the former by that gentleman.

'April 19, 1787. Sir: I am much obliged by your attention to me this morning. Agreeable to my promise I send for your perusal the Reports of the Commissioners appointed to state the Public Accounts of the Realm; and I particularly take the liberty of requesting you to turn to page 144 of the first volume. Indeed the whole of that Report is replete with sound argument, and contains a kind of prophecy which is wonderful.'

vouchers: Although that report was founded on army accounts, yet the same chain of reasoning will hold in the naval department abroad; for there is not a merchant in these islands who does not always sign vouchers, whenever they are brought to them: they say, there is no fixed price for any thing in this country. . . . . My informers[u] have been in various situations in the different islands, under those employed in the victualling, &c. and they assure me, that they are certain they can discover frauds in Antigua to near 500,000*l.* St. Lucia 300,000*l.* Barbadoes 250,000*l.* and at Jamaica 1,000,000*l.* The sum is immense. Whether they can make it out, time must determine. They are both shrewd sensible men; and must know they are for ever ruined in this country, if they do not confirm what they have so boldly asserted. I hope, Sir, I am *right in* sending these papers to you. If I have erred, be pleased to put a favourable construction on my intentions. I assure you, the ardent wish of my heart is to see all defrauders of their country punished.'

Such were the unwearied and successful exertions of the renowned and envied Captain of the Boreas, who thus, even in a time of peace, had opened a series of intrepid duty, by which he might establish the solid foundation of his future eminence. It was thus that this great officer raised himself into public notice, without the adventitious aid of interest. The great connexions which he gradually formed were brought on by an admiration of his extraordinary merit; they had neither been solicited with abject flattery, nor were they preserved by any mean subserviency.

In the month of May, 1787, his Royal Highness Prince William Henry sailed from Granada, and arrived at Jamaica on the 31st; on which station the broad pendant of Commodore Alan Gardner, the present Admiral Lord Gardner, was flying. The Pegasus was accompanied by the Rattler sloop; which Lieutenant Wallis, of the Boreas, had an acting order to command on the death of Captain Winifred Collingwood. His Royal Highness brought a private letter from his Commander to Commodore Gardner, of which the following is an extract:—' Boreas, Nevis, May 13th, 1787. My dear Sir: In a public letter a Commander would be wrong to set forth all the reasons which influence his conduct: but as I hope to have your approbation, I take the liberty of mentioning a few circumstances. His Royal Highness will give you an account of Lieutenant ———'s conduct, and of his having put him into arrest. His Royal Highness's narrative is so explicit, that I cannot inform you so fully as that will. I am sure, Sir, you will consider his Royal Highness stands in a very different situation to any other Captain: his conduct will be canvassed by the world, when ours would never be thought of. . . . In order to shew my disapprobation of officers writing for courts-martial, to vindicate their conduct for trivial matters, I

[u] Messrs. H. and W.

gave out the enclosed order, that others should not fall into the same error. It might soon have risen to such a height, that if a topsail were not thought by the Captain properly or briskly reefed, or some other trivial matter, and he reprimanded the Officer, the Officer would say, " Sir, I think it properly done, and I shall write for a court-martial to vindicate my conduct from your unjust accusation." If this was to be allowed, farewell discipline! The service is ruined. His Majesty may be deprived of the services of his officers; and the best laid schemes may be frustrated by the malignity of individuals, or from pique against their commanders."

The dignity with which Captain Nelson supported the character of senior officer on the Leeward Island station, under many circumstances new and unprecedented, will be long remembered * by all who had the honour to serve under him during that period; for no Commander ever studied more to render the station agreeable to all classes of officers and men than he uniformly did. During the term of three years that Captain Nelson commanded the Boreas in the West Indies, not a single officer or man died out of her whole complement; a similar circumstance of good health can scarcely be produced. The mode he adopted was as follows. He never suffered the ship to remain longer than three or four days in any island at a time: the Boreas was always on the wing; and when it happened that any other ships were in company, Captain Nelson was continually forming the line, exercising the men, and chasing. In the hurricane months, when he was obliged to remain at anchor in English Harbour, he encouraged music, dancing, and cudgelling, on board; and the officers, particularly the younger ones, acted plays; which kept up the spirits of the ship's company, and caused their minds to be constantly employed.

When the Boreas sailed for England, in the month of June, 1787, the health of Captain Nelson was in a very precarious state; as appears from the directions which he received from Mr. Young of the naval hospital.—On his arrival in England, his first letter was addressed to his friend Captain Locker. ' Portsmouth, July 3, 1787. Your congratulations on my arrival I received last night: You are, as ever, too kind. What is to be my immediate destination I know not; but I rather think I shall go out with the fleet now at Spithead. We are ultimately to be paid off at Woolwich. My dear Wife is much obliged by your kind inquiries. I have no doubt but you will like her upon acquaintance; for although I must be partial, yet she possesses great good sense, and good temper.—We are at a court-martial. Charles Pole desires me to say every thing that is kind for him. Ever yours truly.'

The first step which he seems to have taken after his arrival, respecting his proceedings in the West Indies, was an immediate communication with Mr. Pitt; to which in a few

* From Captain Wallis's Memoir.

days the following answer was returned from that Minister's private Secretary, Mr. Smith, dated ' Downing street, 31 July, 1787.—Sir: I am desired by Mr. Pitt to acquaint you, that he has received the favour of your letter of the 26th instant; and that the papers, which you have had the goodness to transmit, are now under the consideration of the Board of Treasury.'

On the 27th of the same month, July, he had sent the following admirable letter to Prince William Henry, respecting the lieutenant who had offended his Royal Highness; a letter that does equal honour to the heart of Nelson, and of his illustrious friend. The copy was found amongst the papers received from the family; and its insertion, it is hoped, will not offend the delicacy of his Royal Highness. ' Portsmouth, July 27, 1787. If to be truly great is to be truly good, as we are taught to believe, it never was more strongly verified than in your Royal Highness, in the instance of Mr. ——. You have supported, Sir, your character; yet at the same time, by an amiable condescension, have saved an officer from appearing before a court-martial, which ever must hurt him. Resentment I know your Royal Highness never had, nor I am certain ever will bear any one: It is a passion incompatible with the principles of a man of honour. Mr. —— was certainly too hasty in writing his letter: but, now you are parted, pardon me, my Prince, when I presume to recommend, that he may stand in your royal favour, as if he had never sailed with you; and that at some future day, you will serve him. There only wants this to place your conduct in the highest point of view. None of us are without failings; his was being rather too hasty: but that put in competition with his being a good officer, will not, I am bold to say, be taken in the scale against him.

' More able friends than myself your Royal Highness may easily find, and of more consequence in the State: but one more attached and affectionate, is, I am bold to say, not so easily met with. Princes seldom, very seldom, find a disinterested person to communicate their thoughts to. I do not pretend to be that person: but of this truth be assured by a man, who, I trust, never did a dishonourable act, that I am interested only that your Royal Highness should be the greatest, and best man, this country ever produced. In full confidence of your belief of my sincerity, I take the liberty of saying, that having seen a few more years than yourself, I may in some respects know more of mankind. Permit me then to urge, a thorough knowledge of those you tell your mind to: Mankind are not always what they seem. Far, very far, be it from me to mean any person, whom your Royal Highness thinks proper to honour with your confidence: but again let me impress on your royal mind what I have before mentioned.

' As to news, you will most probably be furnished with that from a much better quarter. However Boreas is not paid off; she is kept in readiness to go to sea with the squadron at Spithead: but in my poor opinion we shall go no farther at present. The French

have eight sail in Brest water ready for sea; therefore I think we shall not court them out of port. The Dutch business is becoming every day more serious; and I hardly think we can keep from a war, without giving for ever the weight of the Dutch to the French, and allowing the Stadtholdership to be annihilated; things which I should suppose hardly possible. I wrote to your Royal Highness, and sent a number of letters to Jamaica: Gardner, I am sure, will forward them. When I go to town, I shall take care to be presented to his Majesty and the Prince of Wales, that I may be in the way of answering any question they may think proper to ask me. Nothing is wanting, Sir, to make you the darling of the English nation, but truth: Sorry I am to say, much to the contrary has been dispersed. Lord Hood, and the good Commissioner, have made many inquiries about you.[y] Permit me to subscribe myself your Royal Highness's attached and affectionate Horatio Nelson.'

It is singular that the real characters of both these illustrious Officers were at this period but little, and by no means generally known: but the fact is indubitable. The grossest calumnies had sedulously been encouraged against them by the horde of plunderers whose strong holds they had stormed; and to such a height did a prejudice in consequence arise against Captain Nelson, that the mind of one of his most esteemed patrons was for a long time poisoned and estranged: So extensive was the fatal influence of that infamous Peculation, which these Patriots had equally opposed. Nor did the indignant Captain of the Boreas entirely subdue this prejudice, which had even extended to the board of Admiralty, until many years had elapsed; and he had experienced much uneasiness, for what he at times too hastily thought, the ingratitude of his Country.

Captain Nelson on his first arrival in England had suffered severely from a change of climate; for in a second letter to Captain Locker, dated Portsmouth, August 12, 1787, he says, 'It is not kind that our native air should treat a poor wanderer as it has done me since my arrival. The rain and cold at first gave me a sore throat and its accompaniments: the hot weather has brought on a slow fever, not absolutely bad enough to keep my bed, yet sufficient to prevent me from doing any thing; and I could not have written a letter for the world. But now the wind has set in to the westward, and the air is cool, I am quite well again; and be assured, that although I may be careless in not writing, yet your former goodness to me is never out of my mind.

'When Boreas is to be paid off, seems as uncertain as ever. If we are to have a bustle, I do not want to come on shore, and I begin to think I am fonder of the sea than ever. Mrs. Nelson returns her best thanks for your kind inquiries; I shall have great pleasure

[y] On the 20th of August, 1787, the Pegasus, commanded by his Royal Highness Prince William Henry, rejoined the squadron at Quebec under the command of Commodore Sawyer.

in making her known to so valuable a friend: but she is acquainted with you already most perfectly.'

On the 16th of August, Sir Charles Middleton sent to Sheerness the following encouragement and directions to Captain Nelson, in answer to his previous communication.—'Sir: Taking it for granted that the Boreas would have been paid off soon after her arrival, I waited your being in town, to acknowledge the receipt of the accounts you sent me relative to the naval officer's department at Antigua. As the subject of your letter required much consideration how to act, and at the same time precaution to secure the evidence you had pointed out, I took the opportunity of the packet, then ready to sail, to desire you would use every means in your power to bring forward the evidences; relying on the Navy Board to recompense any services they may render the public by their information. I thought it necessary too, as the Commissioners of Inquiry were employed, at the time your letter arrived, in investigating the business of the Navy Office, to lay the information before them; and soon afterwards I had a note from Lord Howe, who, I found, had received similar information from you. In this state the business is at present; and you will of course believe, that it will be again taken up on your arrival in town: before which time, it may be proper to revolve in your mind what steps may be necessary for bringing forward the evidences. In the letter I sent you, I desired they might be encouraged to write to me, or the Navy Board, informing us of the evidence they were possessed of, and of their being ready to produce it, on being called on: but in order to make such evidence legal, it will be improper to name any terms: they must submit to the justice of the Board. When you arrive in town, I shall hope to see you on this subject: but trust in the mean time that you will use every means to substantiate the charge, and which I have little doubt is well founded.'

On the 3d of October, 1787, when writing to his friend Captain Locker, Nelson says, 'I have asked Lord Howe for a ship of the line; but Boreas is victualled for three months, and ready for sea, and I am ordered to hold myself prepared to sail the moment my orders come on board. My health, thank God, was never better; and I am fit for any quarter of the globe.'

The uncertainty in which he was thus kept, was succeeded by a strange and unexpected mortification. If Sir Charles Middleton, in the month of August, had expected that the Boreas, as was customary, would have been paid off soon after her arrival; what were the feelings of her gallant Captain and crew, on finding themselves, after their fatigues in the West Indies, kept at the Nore until the 30th of November, actually serving as a slop and receiving ship! The former felt this neglect very sensibly; and if it had not been for the kind interference of an officer, who stood deservedly high in the confidence of Lord Howe, Captain Nelson, to use the very words of a most intimate friend of his, " was so dissatisfied

with the ill usage he had received, that I am certain, had he possessed the means of living independently on shore, he would never have gone to sea again." From another respectable authority, it is stated, "That whilst he felt so keenly the unpleasant duties that thus were imposed upon him, Nelson seldom or ever quitted his ship, or associated with his brother officers; but was observed to carry on the duty with strict and sullen attention. On the morning when the orders were received to prepare the Boreas for being paid off, he communicated, with much emotion, to the Senior Officer commanding his Majesty's ships and vessels in the river Medway the following extraordinary resolution: 'I now rejoice at the Boreas being ordered to be paid off, which will release me for ever from an ungrateful service, as it is my firm and unalterable determination, never again to set my foot on board a King's ship. Immediately after my arrival in town, I shall wait on the first Lord of the Admiralty, and resign my commission.' The Senior Officer's arguments and expostulations were urged in vain; he, therefore, immediately employed his secret and friendly interference with the first Lord of the Admiralty; and the result was, that on the 29th of November, the day before the Boreas was paid off, her Captain received a kind letter from Lord Howe, intimating his wish to see him on his arrival in town. Captain Nelson accordingly waited upon his Lordship, who received him with much civility; and after some explanations relative to transactions in the West Indies, Lord Howe appeared so perfectly satisfied, that he offered to present him to his Majesty on the first levee day, which was done accordingly.—The gracious manner in which he was again received by his Sovereign, awakened that loyalty and zeal, which an injudicious coldness on the part of government had nearly extinguished; and gave him fresh spirits to oppose the malignity of the disappointed Americans, and the clamorous plunderers of the revenue. Having been informed, by the preceding note from Mr. Pitt's private secretary, that the whole of the late West India transactions had been referred by the Minister to the Treasury, he one morning determined to go immediately to Mr. Rose, without any introduction whatever; trusting to the liberality and good sense of a statesman, whose character seemed devoid of that pride and insolence, which weak minds, when in office, too often acquire. The name of Nelson, however, was but little known, or remembered, amidst the bustle of public business; and it was necessary for him to retrace the outline of his past Services: but it required only a few minutes for the energy and accuracy of his extraordinary capacity, to make his observations valued as they deserved; and Mr. Rose soon found, that he was listening to an officer of no common endowments: 'I am sorry,' replied he, 'Captain Nelson, to be at present so much engaged; but to-morrow I will see you, and at any hour you may please to appoint: only pray let it be an early one.'—'It cannot, Sir, be too early for me; six o'clock, if you please.' That hour was accordingly fixed on, and Nelson was punctual to his time. The interesting

conversation[z] that then ensued, lasted from six o'clock until nine: in which, to the utter astonishment of Mr. Rose, Captain Nelson displayed an accurate knowledge of several political subjects, connected with the trade and commerce of his country, that were the least likely to have come under his immediate notice as a naval officer. Mr. Rose begged him to stay breakfast; and, on his rising afterwards to take his leave, said, 'I am equally, Sir, convinced of the justice, and astonished at the extreme accuracy of all you have said: but allow me to add, that this interview will prove of little public utility, if I am obliged to conceal what I have heard. The only way to make it ultimately useful, would be, if you would allow me, to lay the whole before Mr. Pitt.' No objection was made to so flattering a proposal, and Mr. Rose in consequence took an early opportunity to convey the information he had received to the Chancellor of the Exchequer; when Nelson had the additional satisfaction of finding, that the opinions he had delivered were thoroughly approved, and promised to be supported by Mr. Pitt.

He soon after this called on Sir Charles Middleton; and the following note, which is without date, seems to have some reference to this visit. 'Captain Nelson returns Sir Charles Middleton's books, with thanks for the perusal. Captain Nelson can most truly say, that were those instructions in any manner complied with, it would have been impossible that the present Charges could have been brought forward. The mind that is callous to the oath relative to the negroes, would not scruple committing any act; and yet sorry is he to say, it is his firm belief, that every instruction relative to the hire of negroes is broken through.—In respect to drawing bills, Captain Nelson never saw any advertisement in the Antigua papers for obtaining the best exchange. It came to his knowledge, in the first bills to which his name was put on having the command, that two and a half per cent could be got (it was offered to him by a merchant) more than the exchange written on the bills; and on Captain Nelson's talking to one of the most communicative of the officers on this subject, he gave as a reason, that Mr. ——, in whose favour the bills were drawn, had advanced the money and goods for the use of the yard, before the exchange had risen. These were but bad reasons for his conduct, as Captain Nelson told him at the time, and also added, that in future he should insist on money being advertised for: but difficulties were started; nor was ever any part of those instructions communicated to him, but such as either militated against the interest of the naval officer, or else he was informed that what he had ordered would give some additional trouble.

'During the term of Captain Nelson's command, it may be found, that from two and a half per cent, and in some instances seven per cent, more was obtained for the navy bills, than was got for private ones. He was satisfied with the conscious rectitude of his actions;

[z] From minutes of a conversation with the Right Hon. George Rose.

and only troubles Sir Charles Middleton with this communication, that if possible, any improper mode of conducting this department may be prevented. The openings for fraud are so numerous, the facility of carrying it on is so easy, and the difficulty of detection so great, it being the interest of all parties to keep the secret, that Captain Nelson fears it will be an arduous thing to find virtue enough to withstand the temptation.'*

The following letter to Mr. Rose seems to have been written about this time: it shews the state of agitation in which Nelson's mind was constantly kept by the threats of the American merchants, and that the support he had been promised was insufficient.—' Sir: I yesterday received the enclosed letter from the commissioners of the customs. The exertions I made, whilst on the Leeward Islands station, in stopping the illegal trade with America, is not, I trust, forgotten by their lordships: I have therefore to request you will be pleased to move their lordships, that they will order the necessary steps to be taken for supporting the legality of the sentences.'

Amidst that variety of business which demanded his attention on his return to England, and the difficulties which a zealous and independent mind had brought upon him, he failed not, by every means in his power, to fulfil the promise which he had made to his Royal Highness Prince William, of counteracting whatever had been opposed to the merited reputation of his illustrious pupil, and to the friendship they had so invariably preserved for each other; in which he was supported by the advice and experience of Captain Locker; between whose residence at Kensington, and the house of Mrs. Nelson's uncle in Cavendish Square, his leisure hours were chiefly divided. His health at this time was in a very precarious state; and as he dreaded the effects of an English winter after so long a continuance in the West Indies, he determined to visit Bath, that he might drink the waters, and bathe there. On the 26th of December he therefore left Mr. Herbert's, accompanied by Mrs. Nelson; and on the 27th of January, 1788, sent the following account of his intended proceedings to Captain Locker:—' Your kind letter, my dear Sir, I received yesterday, and am much obliged by your inquiries about a house: but for the next summer I shall be in Norfolk, and thence I must look forward. I was rather hurried in getting down to Bath, by Prince William's having invited me to Plymouth: I was therefore glad to place Mrs. Nelson here during my absence. I returned from Plymouth three days ago, where I found Prince William every thing I could wish, and respected by all. The Pegasus is allowed by every officer to be one of the best disciplined ships that ever came into Plymouth: but the great folks above now see that he will not be a cypher; therefore many of the rising people must submit to act subordinately to him, which is not so palatable.'

From Bath they visited an uncle of Mrs. Nelson's at Redland; and then, as appears

* From the Nelson papers.

from the following letter to the same friend, proceeded to Exmouth:—' Bath, April 3d, 1788. I have for this long time been very negligent about writing; nor, thank God! have I now the excuse of illness, for never was I so well: but we have been for this last month at a relation's near Bristol, and I am only just returned here in order to drink the waters another fortnight, after which we are going to Exmouth on a visit for a month; whence we shall pass through London on our way to Norfolk. Our friend Charles Pole has been fortunate in his trial; but that lottery is so very much against an officer, that never will I knowingly involve myself in a doubtful cause. Prize-money is doubtless very acceptable: but my mind would have suffered so much, that no pecuniary compensation, at so late a period, could have made me amends. I am at this moment under a prosecution by some Americans, for seizing their vessels in the West Indies: however I have written them word, that I will have nothing to do with them, and they may act as they think proper. Government, I suppose, will do what is right, and not leave me in the lurch. We have heard enough lately of the consequence of the Act of Navigation to this country. They may take my person; but if sixpence would save me from a prosecution, I would not give it.

' In some measure I agree with you about the guard-ships and small vessels; so far certainly, that I would take half of every ship's company that are cruisers in the Channel, and put them into the new commissioned large ships, and let the small ones raise more. The papers tell us, that the conduct of this country towards Russia is to be retaliation; at least, if our friendship is worth buying, we may have our own price. Spain appears fixed not to let their fleet come into the Straits. The armed neutrality of the Empress falls most deservedly on herself. I think, if her fleet should be able to get out of the Baltic, we shall have a squadron of large ships in Gibraltar bay, either to keep the peace, or to assist one side or the other.'

During his stay at Exmouth, he again visited Prince William at Plymouth; and thence sent the following letter, which is without any address; but, as it would appear from the contents, seems to have been written to Messrs. H. and W. in the West Indies.—' Plymouth, April 26, 1788.—Gentlemen: I have only this moment been honoured with your letter of February 13th, and am surprised that you have not received one from me, dated at the Nore in September last, more especially as I sent it to Sir Charles Middleton; he having desired me to write to you, stating, that a most honourable and liberal confidence might be reposed in him. Sir Charles has not only the abilities, but the power of doing more for you than I ever could have; and, I am assured, as much wishes to bring these iniquitous frauds to light. This is his public character: I have not the honour of knowing his private one. Repeatedly I have seen Sir Charles Middleton; and he told me, that every step should be taken: nay, that one of the officers was not likely to go out again to Antigua.

'Lord Howe told me, he had consulted with the Navy Board, and that they would receive any communication from you, or myself, and would do what was right; and further said, that you were entitled, on making good these representations, to a most liberal reward.

'From Mr. Pitt, I had an acknowledgment, that the papers were received by him, and had been sent to the different departments. The Victualling Board comes under the cognizance of the Admiralty. I don't recollect whether you gave me any proofs in that department: but I will look when I go to town; and if I have sent any to them, which I did if you gave them to me, I will see the Victualling Board on the subject.—His Grace of Richmond has not honoured me with any acknowledgment of the receipt of my papers: in other people's departments he is most rigid for justice; therefore I am the more surprised. I would have you write to him. The Sick and Hurt fall under cognizance of the Admiralty; yet a letter addressed to that board cannot but be very proper. I shall go to town very shortly, and will call on Sir Charles Middleton; and, if he thinks fit, I shall see your answer to the Navy Board: at all events, I shall desire it. You may rest assured, that no steps shall be left untaken by me to accomplish the discovery of these mal-practices; and to get you the reward, which I have not the least doubt you will so well merit. I must nevertheless apprize you, that my interest in this country is very small; therefore do not build on what I can do for you: Indeed, little else but my integrity and public spirit can bring such an humble individual as myself into notice: however, the goodness of the cause we are engaged in, will support itself at all times; more especially, I dare say, with such an upright character as Mr. Pitt.

'His Royal Highness commands me to say, that were he placed in a situation where he could be of any service to this cause, he would most assuredly sift it to the bottom: but that at present, not having been from this port since his arrival, he can only give his good wishes for the accomplishment of what you have begun. I am sorry any reason should have arisen, for your suggesting to his Royal Highness your doubts of the propriety of conduct of so high a trust, and important an officer, as you have mentioned: I hope in this case you will be mistaken.

'I am much obliged by your good wishes in respect to myself. All his Majesty's naval officers would have acted the same upright part, which you are pleased to suppose I should. Any letters addressed under cover to Maurice Nelson, Esq. Navy Office, will find me out: I beg you to be assured I am your sincere well-wisher, and most faithful humble servant.'

Thus the very extensive Public Frauds which had been long committed with impunity in the West Indies, were at length put in a proper train to be provided against in future. An immense saving was made to government, and its attention directed to similar pecula-

tions in other parts of our extensive colonies. No reward, however, nor any mark of commendation seems in consequence to have been conferred on Captain Nelson.—It is not so much the honours, that are at length liberally bestowed on officers who are worn out in the service, which preserve a spirit of heroism and enterprise in our Navy, as an attention to humble individuals, who, like Nelson at this period of his life, have only their integrity and zeal to bring them into notice; but whose valour has been disciplined in the rigid school of adversity.

Among the private friends, whom his talents and exemplary conduct had at an early period secured to him in the West Indies, the name of Hercules Ross, Esq. has been already mentioned; and to this gentleman, whilst at Exmouth, Nelson thus delivered his sentiments without reserve:—'May 6, 1788. My dear friend: Your favour of the 1st found me in this remote corner, where I have been the last fortnight, enjoying the benefit of a first summer to a West Indian: no bad thing. However, as usual, my health is got up again: after the doctors telling me, they could do nothing for me, dame Nature never has failed curing me.

'We shall rest all next Sunday at Bath, in our way to London; and I shall examine the pump-room, to see if you and Mrs. Ross are arrived; and should that be the case, I shall have the satisfaction of again conversing with my old friend. You have, as well as myself, undergone a great change, since we last met; and I hope, and have been told, are united to an amiable woman, the greatest blessing heaven can bestow.—But in another respect, my friend, you have got the start of me. You have given up all the toils and anxieties of business; whilst I must still buffet the waves—in search of what?—alas! that thing called Honour, is now thought of no more. My Integrity cannot, I hope, be amended; but my fortune, God knows, has grown worse for the service: so much for serving my Country. But the devil, ever willing to tempt the virtuous (pardon this flattery of myself), has made me offer, if any ships should be sent to destroy his Majesty of Morocco's ports, to be there; and I have some reason to think, that should any more come of it, my humble services will be accepted. I have invariably laid down, and followed close, a plan of what ought to be uppermost in the breast of an officer: that it is much better to serve an ungrateful country, than to give up his own fame. Posterity will do him justice: An uniform conduct of Honour and Integrity seldom fails of bringing a man to the goal of fame at last.—But to what am I getting? Into a sermon! Mrs. Nelson joins in compliments to Mrs. Ross; and believe me ever, my dear friend, your affectionate Horatio Nelson.'

On leaving the beautiful scenery of Exmouth, they passed through town in their way to his favourite cottage, the parsonage of Burnham Thorpe, of which he could never speak in absence without being affected. He called, as was his custom, at the Ad-

miralty; and not obtaining an interview with Lord Howe, sent him the following letter: 'My Lord: I have twice, since my arrival in town, done myself the honour of calling on your Lordship, in order to pay my personal respects; and to assure you, that as I have always been, so I continue, ever in readiness to undertake any duty, to which the Admiralty may think it proper to appoint me. My zeal for his Majesty's service is as great as I once flattered myself your Lordship thought it.

'I had hopes that the Admiralty would have ordered me the same allowance at least, as was given to a junior officer left in the command at Jamaica; and I hope your Lordship will give me countenance in an application for it. I trust it is incontrovertible, that I did my duty with the most rigid exactness; and that the business of the Naval Yard was never paid more attention to, than by myself. The Navy Board, I am sure, at this moment, are inclined to believe, that the difficulties, said by their officers to be thrown in the way of their duty by me, arose only from my close investigation of their conduct; which prevented their impositions from taking effect. Every artificer and seaman employed in the naval yard receives additional pay; and shall the officer who has the conducting of the whole business be the only one (in this instance) who is neglected? I trust in your Lordship's answer it will not prove so. The trouble I was at in developing those frauds, it is most true, was no more than my duty; but indeed, my Lord, I little thought that the expences attending my going so often to St. John's, a distance of twelve miles, would have fallen upon my pay, as Captain of the Boreas.'

On the 6th of July, 1788, a new Board[c] of Admiralty was appointed, at which an officer of high rank in the army, the Earl of Chatham, presided; and to which, for a considerable time, only two naval officers were attached.

When Captain and Mrs. Nelson arrived at the Parsonage of Burnham Thorpe, they had no thoughts of residing there, but only intended to pay their father a visit, preparatory to their going to France; as Captain Nelson had experienced great inconvenience from not understanding the French language, a most useful and essential part of a naval officer's education. Mrs. Nelson was on this occasion to have been his instructer; as from having long been in the habit of entertaining the French officers who came recommended from the governors of their islands to her uncle, she had attained a thorough knowledge of their language. However, at their father's entreaty, they soon altered their plan. His joy at seeing this son was so great, that he declared it had given him new life. "But, Horace," exclaimed the venerable Rector, "it would have been better that I had not been thus cheered, if I am so soon to be bereaved of you again. Let me, my good Son! see

[c] The other Members were,

R. Hopkins, Esq.	Viscount Bayham,	Hon. J. L. Gower,
Lord Apsley,	Lord Arden,	Admiral Lord Hood.

you whilst I can: my age and infirmities increase, and I shall not last long." The wishes of a Father thus delivered were unanswerable: Captain and Mrs. Nelson therefore became his constant guests, and the latter his nurse and companion.

It is extremely interesting to contemplate this great man, when thus removed from the busy scenes in which he had borne so distinguished a part, to the remote village of Burnham Thorpe. His mind, though so entirely taken from its proper element, and sphere of action, could not remain unoccupied. He was soon, therefore, engaged, and with considerable zeal, in cultivating his father's garden, and in learning to farm the adjoining glebe; but the former was his principal station: he would there often spend the greater part of the day, and dig, as it were, for the sake of being wearied. At others, he would renew the early pastime of his childhood, and with a simplicity that was peculiar to him, when his mind was not employed on the great objects of professional duty, would spend the greater part of the day amidst the woods, in taking the eggs of different birds, which, as he obtained, he gave to Mrs. Nelson, who at his express desire always attended him. He sometimes also employed his time, when his eyes would admit of it, in reading; and particularly such periodical works of the day as he could procure; but oftener in studying a variety of charts, and in writing, or drawing plans. His great object was to be employed; and though the expences of a ship in time of peace, sometimes induced him to repress his enterprising and sanguine mind, he could not abate its energy. During the month of August, 1788, he again visited the metropolis, and on the 26th wrote to Mrs. Nelson,—" I saw Lord Hood this morning; he made many enquiries after you, and was very civil. He assured me, that a ship in peaceable times was not desirable; but that should any hostilities take place, I need not fear having a good ship." This, however, did not long satisfy his ardent thirst for glory; and on being returned to Burnham, he thence at the beginning of October addressed his anxious wishes for being employed to his friend, the Hon. Captain W. Cornwallis, who had hoisted his broad pendant on board the Crown, as Commander in chief in the East Indies; to which the following answer was returned, dated London, Oct. 10, 1788.—' My dear Nelson: I am sure it would have given me the greatest pleasure to have had you in one of the ships; and I remembered, you were once partial to the part of the world, to which I am said to be going: but your fire-side is so totally changed, since that time, that I did not venture to name you; and the matter was kept a secret until long after the officers were fixed on. Yet be assured, if any thing should happen to occasion more ships coming out, nothing could give me greater pleasure than to have the happiness of seeing you in one of them. I am most truly and affectionately yours, W. Cornwallis.'

The hospitable though humble parsonage of Burnham Thorpe was always open to all the family, and Captain Nelson's brothers and sisters, with their husbands, Mr. Bolton

and Mr. Matcham, frequently increased the society, and cheered its solitude. Captain Nelson tenderly loved all his relations, and was beloved by them: for a better son, or a kinder brother, never existed. His time was thus occupied in the midst of his family; and the uniformity of a village life was occasionally diversified by professional calls to the metropolis, by an annual visit with Mrs. Nelson to Lord Walpole's at Wolterton, and afterwards by some to Holkham, where they had been introduced by Lady Walpole. Of rural amusements, Captain Nelson's favourite one was coursing. Once, indeed, he shot a partridge; but the manner in which he carried his gun, always cocked, as if he were going to board an enemy, and his custom of firing immediately when any birds appeared, without ever putting the fowling piece to his shoulder, rendered any attendance on him a service of considerable danger. His chief desire at this time was to possess a poney; and the day on which he went to the fair to buy one, was memorable from the following circumstance.

During his absence, two men, whose appearance savoured greatly of Bow Street, entered the parsonage abruptly, and asked for Captain Nelson. On being told that he was gone out, but that Mrs. Nelson was at home, they desired to see her: when having made her repeatedly declare, that she was really and truly the Captain's wife, they presented her with a writ, or notification, on the part of the American captains, who had laid their damages at 20,000*l.* and desired her to give it to her husband at his return.

Captain Nelson having bought his poney, returned with it to the parsonage, and immediately summoned his wife to admire his purchase, and hear all its excellencies: Nor was it until his horse had been properly taken care of, and the first glee of this acquisition had in some measure subsided, that he became acquainted with what had passed; when, to his utter astonishment and distress, he received the notification which had been left with his wife. They who best know the irritable mind of Nelson, and the sudden paroxisms which it sometimes displayed, may best imagine his sensations at that moment. "This Affront," exclaimed the indignant servant of his country, "I *did* not deserve: but never mind: I'll be trifled with no longer. I will write immediately to the Treasury; and if government will not support me, I am resolved to leave the country."

He accordingly acquainted the Treasury with what had happened, and added, that if a satisfactory answer were not sent him by return of post, he should take refuge in France. The whole plan was then arranged with his usual promptness and decision; and it was settled, that his elder brother Maurice should accompany Mrs. Nelson to the Continent in ten days after her husband. Fortunately a favourable answer was received, and probably the following one, which was found among his papers, and seems to have been sent through his friend Captain Pringle. 'May 4th (without the date of the year, but, as would seem, 1788). My dear Nelson: I have just time to tell you, that I have this morning got Mr. Rose's answer, which is: "That Captain Nelson is a very good officer,

and need be under no apprehension; for he will assuredly be supported [b] by the Treasury;" of which I give you joy; and with my best wishes believe me ever affectionately yours, Thomas Pringle."

He now also received the answer he had so long expected from the Duke of Richmond, dated Whitehall, 27th Dec. 1788. 'Sir: The Board of Ordnance have lately referred to me a correspondence with Messrs. W. and H. of Antigua, relative to some frauds said to have been committed in my department in that island. I should long ago have acknowledged the receipt of the letter you did me the favour to write to me from Antigua upon this subject, and have thanked you for the communication, and for the trouble you took in endeavouring to bring to light an affair which may prove of much importance to the Ordnance; but as you informed me, that you expected to leave the West Indies before an answer could reach you, and as you gave me hopes that I should have the pleasure of seeing you, upon your return to England, I deferred writing; for I wished to have conversed with you upon the subject of your letter, before any steps were taken in consequence of it. I shall however now give directions for this matter being fully investigated, so far as it concerns my department. I have the honour to be, Sir, your most obedient, humble servant, RICHMOND.'

This polite letter from his Grace was soon followed by another, dated Whitehall, 16th January, 1789. 'Sir: I received your letter of the 4th instant. I had before given directions for strict enquiry to be made concerning the frauds said to have been committed at Antigua, so far as they relate to my department: if it should turn out that Mr. —— has been concerned in this business, he will be dismissed, and the Attorney General be ordered to prosecute him. The Board of Ordnance will write by the next packet to Messrs. W. and H. accepting their terms on the discovery, viz. fifteen per cent. upon the first hundred thousand pounds, and seven and a half per cent. upon every subsequent hundred, to be paid them out of such money as shall be recovered. I am very much obliged to you for the trouble you have taken in this business, and shall be glad to see you when you come to London. I beg you will not think any introduction necessary.'

His patriotic zeal during the greater part of the eventful year 1789, continued to be directed to this intricate and important subject; and on the 24th of January he addressed the following letter to the merchants at Antigua:—'Burnham, 1789. Gentlemen: your letter written in October, I received last night, and have sent the enclosed to Sir Charles Middleton this morning. I am most sincerely sorry for your situation, and

[b] "On the 10th of March, 1788, the Parliament," says Mr. Macpherson, "thinking that the experience of five years had now proved, that British vessels were competent to the supply of the West India Islands with the produce of America, enacted a permanent law, instead of the temporary regulations hitherto generally renewed every year." (Annals of Commerce, Vol. IV. page 168.)

hope that government will afford you every assistance, in bringing to maturity the good work begun under my auspices. I would have you recollect, that although government business may be slow, yet it is sure. I am assured the affair will never be dropped; and that all proper rewards and recompences will be made you. His Grace of Richmond, after a long silence, has at last assured me, that every proper measure shall be taken, and that you shall receive the reward you asked. All the other boards will do you ample justice. I cannot but lament, that your discovery should not have been made to a man of more consequence than myself; for in this country I am not in office, and am so much retired from the busy scenes of power, that although I have every inclination, I have not the ability of doing more than representing your situation; which I have always done, expressing to all the public boards my belief of your ability and determination to lay all the frauds open. Rest assured, I am your friend, Horatio Nelson.'

On the 1st of February, 1789, he sent the same persons the following additional information from Burnham:

'Gentlemen, the following is an extract of a letter from Sir Charles Middleton, Jan. 27: "It is intended to try the business at home, and which must be more satisfactory than doing it abroad. In this case Mr. W. &c. will have notice by summons: they were informed of this by the Navy Board."—'I can only wish that all may end to your satisfaction. You see I have taken every opportunity in letting you know the progress of your business, as soon as I was acquainted with it: being your sincere well wisher.'

On the 27th of May he addressed a letter to the Duke of Richmond, stating, that Messrs. W. and H. felt hurt at the supposed inattention of the Ordnance Board, which his Grace answered on the 2d of June; and concluded with the following assurance of support. 'Not having seen you, I transmitted the papers relative to this business to the Board of Ordnance, on the 5th of January, 1789; and the Board, after having referred them to the Surveyor General, wrote on the 4th of February to Messrs. W. and H. a letter, a copy of which I also enclose. This letter they of course could not have received when they wrote to you in January; but, when it arrives, it will convince them, that the Board is not less solicitous than they can be, in wishing to pursue such methods as are most likely to detect the frauds alleged; and, as you will observe, that the Board accept of the proposals of Messrs. W. and H. and will give them the assistance of the law officers of the crown, it now remains with them to make good the charge they have brought forward, and undertaken to prove. With respect to yourself, I can only renew the assurances of my perfect conviction of the zeal for his Majesty's service which has induced you to come forward in this business.'

Such was the active mind of Horatio Nelson at the age of thirty; and such the steadiness with which he pursued an intricate and invidious subject, whence he could ultimately

derive no advantage, but the consciousness of having served his Country, which he in the moments of a seaman's irritability, and despondency, was led to believe ungrateful. It is extraordinary, and may be of infinite service to many professional men, to observe a young Post Captain of scarcely ten years standing, on half pay, neglected and forgotten by the Admiralty Board, and living in the obscure and distant village of Burnham Thorpe, thus commencing a correspondence with the principal Ministers of State, and rendering the government a most essential and lasting service.

The developement of this scene of peculation, which had thus originated in the efforts of a single individual, was considerably advanced by the summer of 1789, and forwarded through the different public boards. On the 19th and 23d of June, he was requested by the Commissioners of the Victualling Office to attend their board, as soon as he could conveniently come to London; and, by the same opportunity, was informed, that the Commissioners had received letters from Messrs. W. and H. stating, that unless the business was done immediately, and quickly, the various channels for the conveyance of the public plunder to foreign countries and banks, would directly be opened with effect: "We shall beg leave," added they, "to depend on Captain Nelson to furnish you with an account of our present distressed situation, in consequence of our exertions for the service of government; and he will no doubt fully explain the nature of our situation, under the rascally oppression of the English Harbour delinquents." Immediately on receiving this, he left his agricultural employments in Norfolk on the 29th of June, for the metropolis, and was long engaged, both during his present and subsequent stay there, in contending with the many obstacles which these plunderers of the public money had such dexterity in raising for their own defence. Towards the autumn he resumed his rural occupations, of which he gave some account in a letter from Burnham to Captain Locker, Sept. 10, 1789. 'When we may meet, time must determine: at present I have no appearance of being called up to London. Not being a man of fortune is a crime which I am unable to get over, and therefore none of the Great care about me. I am now commencing farmer; not a very large one you will imagine, but enough for amusement. Shoot I cannot; therefore I have not taken out any license. Notwithstanding all the neglect I experience, I am happy; and now I see the propriety of not having built my hopes on sandy foundations.'

His solitude however still continued to be interrupted, and his mind to be ruffled, by letters from the West Indies; for on the 28th of November, 1789, he thus writes to Messrs. W. and H. from Burnham. 'Gentlemen: I received your letter of the 11th of September, the beginning of this month, and sent it to Sir Charles Middleton, without any comments of mine; as to me it seemed to require no explanation: When it was returned I was directed, if I chose the letter should be made public, to send it to the Navy Board; reports having been circulated by persons high in office, that they feared all this business

would end in smoke; and that you had shifted your ground, and were very wavering in your opinions: for at first you had said, that nothing was to be done in the West Indies, and now, that nothing could be done at four thousand miles distance.

'Certain opinions I had formed; although I am not a man who wishes to say much, or indeed any thing without being asked; yet on this occasion common justice would not allow me to be silent, when such, as appear to me, false reports, were in circulation. I therefore wrote to the Navy Board, of which the following is an extract: "Having heard a report, that these gentlemen had deviated from the first line of procedure they had adopted, it becomes, I hope the board will think, a line of justice in me to give my reasons why I do not think so. When the information was given, and in all their subsequent communications with me, they have uniformly and constantly protested against their confidence in his Majesty's law officers in the West Indies: That a trial in England, although it might prove certain facts, yet was by no means the object they had in view, when the information was given. Their object I have constantly understood was an inquiry and examination, on the large scale of examining merchants, their books, &c. and tracing the frauds home to every delinquent; who being made to refund, was the source whence these gentlemen expected their rewards to have arisen.

'On the 27th, yesterday, I received the following answer: "We have sent the letters and enclosures to Mr. Dyson our solicitor, and desired him to lay them before the Attorney General for his opinion, as to what steps should be taken thereon, and to use every means in his power to investigate and bring forward the whole of the business as soon as possible."—Retired as I am, upwards of one hundred and twenty miles from London, I can render you little if any assistance in getting forward in this business; and good wishes, without something more powerful, are of no avail in this country. I can only sit down and think. Sir John Laforey is going out with the command, and will probably be the man to investigate the frauds committed in the naval yard, &c. during the war.'

The attention which has thus been paid to this patriotic conduct of Nelson, must now be closed with the following passage from the notes of Mr. Rose, which he has been pleased to furnish: "His representations were all attended to, and every step which he recommended was adopted. He thus put the investigation into a proper course; which ended in the detection and punishment of some of the parties whose conduct was complained of."

During his residence at Burnham Thorpe, he continued to keep up a correspondence with his friend, Prince William Henry, who in the preceding year, 1788, had again visited the West Indies, as Commander of the Andromeda frigate; and on the 19th of May, 1789, had been created Duke of Clarence, and of St. Andrews in the kingdom of Great Britain, and Earl of Munster, in Ireland.

The anxiety and importunity with which Captain Nelson in vain solicited the Admiralty for active employment, during the year 1790, when the conduct of the Spaniards at Nootka Sound seemed to render a war inevitable, has been already described in his own memoir. In writing to the Duke of Clarence, on the 24th of June, in that year, he dwelt on the disappointment he had thus experienced: a disappointment which preyed so much upon his feelings, that it had nearly again induced him to retire from the Service, had not the urgent remonstrances of Lord Hood to the contrary prevailed. 'Burnham, Norfolk, June 24, 1790. Sir: My not being appointed to a ship is so very mortifying, that I cannot find words to express what I feel on the occasion; and when I reflect on your Royal Highness's condescension in mentioning me to Lord Chatham, I am the more hurt, and surprised. Sure I am, that I have ever been a zealous and faithful servant, and have never intentionally committed any errors; especially as until very lately I have been honoured by the notice of the Admiralty.

'The attachment which I trust has never been found to vary, since I first was introduced to your Royal Highness by Lord Hood, had invariably for its object one point; nothing else for myself did I ever presume to solicit—that I might have the distinguished honour of being one of your supporters in a line of battle: then it would be shewn, that no person had your fame more at heart. I dare not venture a wish that your Royal Highness should trouble yourself again in my behalf. I trust most firmly on your kind recollection of me; and I beg you to be assured, that I am, as ever, your most attached and faithful Horatio Nelson.'

On the 21st of August, the Duke's birth-day, he again addressed his royal pupil:—'Sir: The retired situation which I am placed in, seldom affords me any other means of information, than a newspaper; in which I read with sorrow, that your Royal Highness was prevented from being at Windsor on the Prince of Wales's birth-day by indisposition. It would give me real satisfaction to hear you are perfectly recovered. I recollect with pleasure, that this is your Royal Highness's birth-day, which whilst life lasts I shall hold in the highest estimation: may many revolving years give me an opportunity of congratulating you on its return, and may each bring an increase of comfort, health, and honour to your R. H. is the affectionate wish of your most faithful and attached Horatio Nelson.'

His constant wish to be employed was increased during the autumn, by hearing that his old ship the Raisonable, in which he had commenced his naval career was to be commissioned; and he therefore sent the following letter to Lord Chatham. 'Burnham, Norfolk, Sept. 26, 1790. My Lord: My wish to be employed is so great, that I trespass on your Lordship's time with a letter. I am sensible I have no great interest to recommend me, nor have I had conspicuous opportunities of distinguishing myself: but thus far,

without arrogating, I can declare, that no opportunity has been passed by; and that I have ever been a zealous officer: I am sure Lord Hood will bear testimony of what I have taken the liberty of saying. If the Raisonable is not given away, I should esteem myself highly honoured by the command of her.'

The above is one of the many ineffectual applications which this brave and excellent officer made for active employment. He felt he had not merited neglect, that he had considerable claims on his Country; and was too indignant to consider, how many other officers had experienced the same behaviour, that all public boards were likely to be affected by partialities and prejudices, and by the influence of a political interest, which, though often justly complained of, is an evil that arises from the noblest part of our admirable Constitution.

Towards the end of this year, Captain Nelson had the comfort to find, that the gallant Cornwallis still kept him in his memory. 'Phœnix, Diamond Harbour, 13th Aug. 1790. Dear Nelson: I thank you very much for your kind remembrance of me. I confess I think this a pleasant station in many points; and I believe if one were inclined to enter into the spirit of it, all would go very smooth. I lament very much, as I recollect you had some time past a great inclination to come to this country, that a change of circumstances made it impossible for me to think of proposing it to you upon my appointment: for I do declare, that it would have been a great happiness to me to have had you on this station. I move about a great deal. The visiting our new settlements at Prince of Wales's Island, and the Adaman, gives an opportunity for exploring, which I prefer to the being stuck up in a pompous style at one of the old ones. The sailing upon the Malabar coast during the N. E. monsoon is very delightful; the weather at that season is so totally free from squalls. Our Royal Duke is, I hear, almost tired of the shore: but how he will be able to employ himself in time of peace at sea, is not easy to determine. It would however be a pity that any of the zeal and fondness he has so evidently shewn for the Service should be suffered to abate; as there is every reason to believe, that with his ability, he will one day carry its glory to a greater height than it has yet attained.

'I am glad my friend Gardner has been called to the Admiralty, though I am sorry for the death which occasioned the vacancy. My hearty good wishes attend you and Mrs. Nelson for every enjoyment and comfort this world affords; being, my dear Nelson, ever most faithfully yours, W. Cornwallis.'

At the close of this year 1790, he had also the consolation of knowing, that his early friend Lord Mulgrave was not unmindful of former promises: 'Nov. 17. Dear Sir: I have just received your very obliging letter: had the Armament continued, I should have had the greatest pleasure in mentioning the just respect I entertain for your professional character, as well as my sincere personal regard for your very laudable desire for employ-

ment. I can only now repeat to you my assurances of the sentiments of esteem and friendship with which I am, dear Sir, most faithfully yours, Mulgrave.'

In the course of the years 1791 and 1792, Captain Nelson renewed his earnest applications to the Admiralty Board, that their Lordships would not suffer him to rust in indolence; until at last, finding every attempt ineffectual, he began to give up all hope of ever being again employed. During the latter year, his zealous friend the Duke of Clarence having often delivered his sentiments in the House of Lords, in a manner that was very gratifying to the opinion of Nelson, he addressed a complimentary letter to his Royal Highness on the 12th of September 1792; to which the Duke returned the following answer. 'Clarence Lodge, Sept. 21, 1792. My dear Nelson: I beg leave to acknowledge the receipt of your friendly letter of the 12th instant, which came safely. I am so fully persuaded of your real regard for me, my good friend, that no fresh mark can be wanting to convince me: still however at the present moment, when the public have two opinions, the one good, the other disadvantageous of my parliamentary conduct, I feel highly obliged to you, as a person qualified to judge, for delivering your sentiments. I think it is the duty of every subject to prevent, if possible, that confusion which might throw our kingdom into the wretched deplorable state of France. Assure our common friends in the West Indies, that I will neither neglect nor desert them. My best wishes and compliments attend Mrs. Nelson, and ever believe me yours sincerely, WILLIAM.'

In the course of the ensuing month of November, his despairing mind was soothed by the following letter from Captain Cuthbert Collingwood; who seemed born to follow him throughout the whole of his professional career. 'Morpeth, Nov. 14, 1792. My dear friend: I am much obliged to you for your letter, which I received last month: it was particularly welcome to me, as it brought information of the good health of you and Mrs. Nelson. You must not be displeased that I was so long without writing to you. I was very anxiously engaged a great part of the time, and perhaps sometimes a little lazy: but my regard for you, my dear Nelson, my respect and veneration for your character, I hope and believe will never lessen. God knows when we may meet again; unless some chance should draw us again to the sea shore. I however hope to have long the happiness of hearing of your welfare.

'There are great commotions in our neighbourhood at present. The seamen at Shields have embarked themselves, to the number of twelve or fourteen hundred, with a view to compel the owners of the coal ships to advance their wages; and, as is generally the case, when they consider themselves the strongest party, their demand has been exorbitant: they allowed no ship to sail until the master engaged to pay them four pounds for the voyage, which was often performed in three weeks, sometimes in less; and for which the usual wages had been forty-five and fifty shillings. Seamen who attempted to go in ships

on any other terms than those which they proposed, were punished by what they call the *Stang;* which is carrying them through the streets astride on an oar, or studding-sail yard; and you will suppose they did not treat them with great tenderness. Application was made to government for such assistance as the remedy of this evil might require. They have sent the Drake and Martin sloops to join the Racehorse which was here before, and some troops of dragoons, whose presence I hope will dispose the Johnnies to peace, without having occasion to act. On Tuesday last the justices and magistrates had conferences with the parties at variance, sailors and ship owners; when it was proposed, that three pounds per voyage should be the established wages, winter and summer. I have not heard whether all the parties have agreed to this; yet if they do not, the starved condition of the poor in London will be lamentable. But the times are turbulent: the enthusiasm for liberty is raging even to madness. The success of the French people in establishing their republic has set the same principle, which lurked in every state in Europe, afloat; and those, who secreted it in their bosoms, have now the boldness to avow it; to avow a plan for adopting it in the government of this country, and to recruit volunteers for carrying their purpose into execution.

'In this neighbourhood we seem to be pacific. Misery will undoubtedly be the consequence of any commotion, or attempt to disturb our present most excellent constitution. My wife joins me in best regards to you and Mrs. Nelson, and pray, when you have leisure, let me hear from you. God bless you, and believe me,[c] my dear Nelson, affectionately and faithfully yours, Cuthbert Collingwood.'

The following testimony of Nelson's attachment to his Sovereign is without date, but seems, from the answer returned, to have been sent to the Duke of Clarence, on the 3d of November, 1792. 'Sir: Your Royal Highness will not, I trust, deem it improper, although I have no doubt it will be thought unnecessary, at this time to renew my expressions of invariable attachment not only to your Royal Highness, but to my King: for I think that very soon every individual will be called forth to shew himself, if I may judge from this county, where societies are formed, and forming, on principles certainly inimical to our present constitution both in church and state. Sorry am I to believe that many give a countenance to these societies, who ought to conduct themselves otherwise.

'In what way it might be in the power of such an humble individual as myself to best serve my King, has been matter of serious consideration, and no mode appeared to me so proper as asking for a ship: accordingly on Saturday last Lord Chatham received my letter desiring the command of one. Still, as I have hitherto been disappointed in all my applications to his Lordship, I can hardly expect any answer to my letter; which has

[c] From the Nelson papers.

always been the way I have been treated. But neither at sea, nor on shore, can my attachment to my King be shaken. It will never end but with my life.

'I have been staying some time with my relation Lord Walpole, near Norwich; at which place, and near it, the clubs are supported by members of the corporation; and they avow, that until some of the nobles and others in parliament are served as they were in France, they shall not be able to get their rights.'

On the 6th of December, 1792, his Royal Highness returned the following answer. 'Dear Nelson: Though at present the Armament is confined to small vessels, I much doubt whether any fleet will be equipped, and still less do I see any chance for a rupture between this country and France: At the same time this pernicious and fallacious system of equality, and universal liberty, must be checked, or else we shall here have the most dreadful consequences. I perfectly agree with you, that it is the duty of every individual to use his utmost efforts to counteract these incendiaries; and I hope we shall in parliament take vigorous and effectual means to restore tranquillity at home. Should matters between the two Countries grow serious, you must be employed. Never be alarmed. I will always stand your friend. I wish you would write me word how you and Lord Hood stand at present. My best wishes and compliments attend Mrs. Nelson; and ever believe me yours sincerely, WILLIAM.'

On the ensuing 10th of December, he returned the following answer to the Duke of Clarence, and candidly confessed, that what had passed at the Admiralty had even estranged him from his friend Lord Hood; but of whose sincere friendship he had afterwards a sufficient proof. 'Burnham, Dec. 10. Sir: I was honoured by your R. H.'s letter last night; and it shall ever be my pride to deserve your R. H.'s kindness. Respecting my present situation with Lord Hood, I can readily and truly answer, our familiar correspondence ceased on a difference of opinion. In the Spanish Armament, when almost the whole service was called forth, I asked Lord Hood to interest himself with Lord Chatham, that I might be appointed to a ship. His Lordship having declined doing it, has prevented my troubling him for his interest or influence. However, in consideration of our former intimacy, whenever I have gone to London, I have hitherto thought it right to leave my name at his Lordship's door. I certainly cannot at this moment look on Lord Hood as my friend; but I have the satisfaction of knowing, that I never gave his Lordship just cause to be my enemy.

'Our Lord Lieutenant has summoned a meeting of the Norfolk justices on Tuesday next the 11th; and I have no doubt but they will resolve to do collectively, what none of them chose to do individually—to take away the licenses from those public houses who allow of improper societies meeting at them, and to arrest those incendiaries who go from ale-house to ale-house, advising the poor people to pay no taxes, &c. In this neighbourhood,

a person has held such language to a circle of ten miles round him; and, a few days past, I asked a justice of the peace, 'Why, as such a man's conduct was known, he was not taken up?' His answer was, 'That no justice would render himself unpopular at this time, by being singular; for that his life and property were gone, if the mob rose: but that when the justices all agreed to act in an uniform manner, this man should certainly be taken hold of, if he went on in the same line of conduct.'

'That the poor labourers should have been seduced by promises and hopes of better times, your Royal Highness will not wonder at, when I assure you, that they are greatly in need of every thing to make life comfortable. Part of their wants perhaps are unavoidable, from the dearness of every article of life: but much has arisen from the neglect of the country gentlemen, in not making their farmers raise their wages in some small proportion, as the prices of things increased. The enclosed paper[a] will give your R. H. an idea of their situation. It is perhaps too favourable: but I have been careful that no country gentleman should have it in his power to say, I had pointed out the wants of the poor greater than they really are. Their wages have been raised within these three weeks, pretty generally one shilling a week: had it been done some time past, they would not have been discontented; for a want of loyalty is not amongst their faults, and many of their superiors, in numerous instances, might have imitated their conduct with advantage. The wise precautions of government have certainly given a vigour to the loyalty of the nation, who are undoubtedly by far the majority; and the disaffected join them at present, for fear of being suspected: therefore I have no doubt but our tranquillity will be restored.'

[a] *An account of the Earnings and Expences of a Labourer in Norfolk, with a wife and three children, supposing that he is not to be one day kept from labour in the whole year; drawn up by Captain Nelson.*

	£.	s.	d.
One pair of men's shoes 7s. one pair of women's 4s. 6d. one pair for each of the three children 10s. 6d. and 1l. 1s. for mending	2	3	0
Two shirts	0	10	0
Breeches or jacket	0	3	0
Woman's and children's clothes	1	6	0
Soap, 12 lbs.	0	8	10
Candles, 6 lbs.	0	4	0
Coals, one chaldron and a half	1	19	0
House rent	2	0	0
	7	13	10

Labour, at the advanced Prices.

	£.	s.	d.
From Oct. 10 to March 31, at 9s. per week	11	14	0
From March 31 to June 30, at 8s. per week	5	4	0
From June 30 to Aug. 24, turnip hoeing and hay harvest	3	0	0
Harvest	2	2	0
Women's gleaning	1	1	0
Total earnings	23	1	0
Cloaths, &c.	7	13	10
For food for five People	14	7	2

Not quite *Two-Pence* a day for each person, and for drink, nothing but water; for beer our poor labourers never taste, unless they are tempted, which is too often the case, to go to the alehouse.——The price of labour since the above statement is certainly much increased.

That nothing might be wanting in point of perseverance in himself, Captain Nelson again applied to the Board for employment on the 5th of December; and after earnestly requesting the command of a ship, he added, ' Or if their Lordships should be pleased to appoint me to a *cockle boat*, I shall feel grateful:' The application, however, was in vain; and he had only one of those official letters, which it is customary to send on such occasions:—' Admiralty Office, 12th Dec. 1792. Sir: I have received your letter of the 5th instant, expressing your readiness to serve, and I have read the same to my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty.'

If this great officer could not at this period have been employed, his public spirit should at least have been cherished by promises that were not unmeaning, and by a certain prospect of being remembered, when other and more imperious claims had been attended to. No palliation was offered on this occasion; and with a mortified and dejected spirit he looked forward to a continuance of inactivity and neglect.

Such was the state of mind, and such the expectations of Nelson, before the commencement of hostilities with France: until that period, his glory suffered a partial eclipse; but its subsequent brightness became more uniform and splendid. During this interval of disappointment and mortification, his latent ambition would at times burst forth, and despise all restraint. At others, a sudden melancholy seemed to overshadow his noble faculties, and to affect his temper: at those moments nothing but the remonstrances of his Wife and venerable Father, could calm the tempest of his passions. He would then patiently resume his wonted occupations as a farmer; and thus, like other heroes, endeavoured by agricultural pursuits to find an object of employment for that energy, which he could not subdue. What a change did a few years make in this humble and apparently forgotten tenant of the parsonage of Burnham Thorpe! Let the anxious and too irritable disposition of naval officers, therefore, learn from the subsequent achievements of this illustrious Seaman, never to despair; for, as the Wise Man said, *To every thing there is a season, and a time to every purpose under the Heaven.*

BOOK THE SECOND.

SECTION III.

From the commencement of the French war in 1793, *to the close of* 1795; *when Admiral Sir John Jervis succeeded to the command in the Mediterranean.*

WHILST SERVING ON BOARD HIS MAJESTY'S SHIP AGAMEMNON.

Igitur talibus viris non labor insolitus, non locus ullus asper aut arduus erat, non armatus hostis formidolosus: virtus omnia domuerat; sed gloriæ maximum certamen inter ipsos erat; se quisque hostem ferire, murum ascendere, conspici dum tale facinus faceret, properabat: eas divitias, eam bonam famam, magnamque nobilitatem putabant. Laudis avidi, pecuniæ liberales erant; gloriam ingentem, divitias honestas volebant. (*Sallust. Bell. Catil.* 7.)

THE year 1793, when the present eventful contest commenced between the commercial power of Great Britain and the military strength of France, is also remarkable as being the first of those twelve remaining years in the life of Nelson, throughout which he maintained a career of glory which is almost without a parallel in history. It is hardly possible to conceive that, in so short a period, an individual in the British navy, who had then remained for nearly five years in obscurity, unable to procure the command of a ship, should from this time gradually rise, by his professional exertions alone, to such a height as gave him a decided pre-eminence over the many and renowned warriors of the British nation.

From his youth upwards his zealous character, both as an officer and a man, had been formed in the old Antigallican school; and that at a time, when the specious revolutionary principles of France had taught many of his countrymen to consider as prejudices, what their ancestors had long cherished as the most salutary truths. The loyalty and patriotism of Nelson, therefore, uniformly displayed a marked abhorrence and detestation of the French character: like Hannibal, he seems to have taken the oath of eternal hostility against them, on the altars of his Country. Against that Nation, and its overwhelming ambition, whether as a republican, consular, or imperial power, we shall now accompany him through a series of perilous and fatiguing services, with a shattered and emaciated frame, covered with honourable wounds, and struggling to the last to support the honour of his King, and the independence of his Country.

Anno Ætat. 35.

When it at length was found necessary by our government, notwithstanding all its pacific intentions, to appeal to the decision of arms, the Duke of Clarence immediately exerted himself to fulfil the promise he had made to his friend; in which his Royal Highness was seconded by Lord Hood. Captain Nelson was in consequence

appointed to the Agamemnon, so early as the 30th of January, 1793, and commissioned his ship on the 11th of February. His previous feelings at the prospect of this event taking place, were expressed in a letter to his wife, dated London, Jan. 7th.

'*Post nubila Phœbus!* after clouds comes sunshine. The Admiralty so smile upon me, that really I am as much surprised as when they frowned. Lord Chatham yesterday made many apologies for not having given me a ship before this time; and said, that if I chose to take a sixty-four, to begin with, I should be appointed to one as soon as she was ready; and whenever it was in his power, I should be removed into a seventy-four. Every thing indicates war. One of our ships, looking into Brest, has been fired into;[e] the shot is now at the Admiralty. You will send my Father this news, which I am sure will please him. Love to Josiah; and believe me your most affectionate Horatio Nelson.'

On the 26th of January he informed Commodore Locker, who had hoisted his broad pendant on board the Sandwich at the Nore, as commander there, of Lord Hood's having sent him word to Burnham Thorpe, that he would be appointed to the Agamemnon at Chatham. 'I have sent out a lieutenant,' adds Captain Nelson, 'and four mids, to get men at every sea port in Norfolk, and to forward them to Lynn and Yarmouth. My friends in Yorkshire and the north tell me, they will send what they can to the regulating captains at Whitby and Newcastle. The name of the ship was fixed, for the avowed purpose of my raising men for sea; therefore I hope, if any men from London are inclined to enter for her, you will not turn your back on them: as although my bills are dispersed over this county, &c. I have desired, that none may be stuck up in London, until my commission has been signed. Lord Hood has been very kind indeed: I think we may be good friends again. From what he writes to me, I expect the ship will be commissioned within a fortnight. I shall join her directly.'

'Navy-Office, Feb. 6. I shall get on board to morrow; and if possible will come to Sheerness to pay my respects to you, but fear it must be Friday. The lieutenant and master join the ship with me; and I have to entreat, as I hear an admiral is coming down, that you will have the goodness to allow Maurice Suckling,[f] and such men as may be on board the Sandwich, to go into the Agamemnon. The Duke of Clarence desires me to say, that he requests you will discharge Joseph King into the Agamemnon; and that I am welcome to any other men, to assist me in fitting out. He is quite unwell, but expresses

[e] The Childers sloop, Captain Barlow (now Sir Robert Barlow, deputy Comptroller of the Navy), would have been destroyed by the heavy cross fire that was opened upon her from all the batteries at the mouth of Brest harbour, if a gale of wind springing up had not enabled her to escape. Being a small object, only one shot hit her, which struck one of her guns and split it in three pieces, without injuring a man: the shot weighed forty-eight pounds.

[f] His cousin, the son of Mr. Suckling of Wooton, near Norwich.

the greatest satisfaction at the appointment[5] you are likely to succeed to, and in which no one rejoices more than your most affectionate Horatio Nelson.'

In a subsequent letter of the 21st, he congratulated Captain Locker on his appointment, and expressed himself much satisfied with his master, Mr. Fellows.

Previous to the sailing of the Agamemnon from Chatham, he wrote to Mrs. Nelson at Hilborough, March 15, 1793. 'If the wind is to the northward of west, we go down the river to morrow, and are ordered to proceed to Spithead with all possible dispatch, as we are wanted, Lord Hood writes me word, for immediate service; and hints, we are to go a cruise, and then to join his fleet at Gibraltar: therefore I am anxious to get to Spithead. I never was in better health; and I hope you intend a new lease of your life: the not tying up any of the money left you, I consider as a confidence reposed in me, and I shall take care that it is not misplaced.'

His next letter to Mrs. Nelson at Mr. Suckling's, Kentish Town, is dated from Sheerness, April 9th; and on the 14th, he adds from the same place, 'Although I have not been out of the ship since I wrote to you last, yet I know you wish to hear frequently from me. The wind is now got to the westward, and we are unmooring to go out to the Nore, where I suppose our stay will be very short. I had a visit from the Admiral yesterday to examine my ship; and I can say with truth she is getting into high order, although we are upwards of a hundred short of complement; yet I think we shall be far from ill manned, even if the rest are not so good as they ought to be. The surgeon seems to be a very good sort of man; indeed I have reason to be satisfied at present with every officer in the ship.'

The following extracts, from other letters to Mrs. Nelson, continue the account of his proceedings to the month of May. 'Spithead, April 29. We arrived at Spithead last night, and this morning, have got my orders to go to sea until the 4th of May, when I shall be at Portsmouth: Lord Hood will then be there, and it is now certain that I am going with him. We are all well: indeed nobody can be ill with my ship's company, they are so fine a set. Don't mind what newspapers say about us. God bless you.'——'Spithead, April 30. We should have gone to sea yesterday, but it blew so strong we could not get up our anchors; and to day, unless the wind changes in the afternoon, we shall not get out to sea, which is a great mortification to me; for something might be done, if we were at sea, and I fear orders may come to stop us. I must be here on Sunday at the farthest, as Lord Hood sails if the wind is fair on Thursday, May 9.'——'Spithead, May 6. I arrived here last night, and rather expected to have seen you here; but Mr. Matcham told you right, There is no certainty in winds and waves. We had some blowing weather, but nothing for Aga-

[5] Appointed Lieutenant Governor of Greenwich Hospital Feb. 15, on the death of Captain J. Ferguson.

memnon to mind. We fell in with two French frigates and two armed vessels, who got into la Hogue harbour, where we could not follow for want of a pilot. I was again ordered to sea this morning, but am now stopped, as my ship wants many things before she sails for the Mediterranean. Lord Hood is expected to night. Maurice[1] came to me, and it blew so hard I could not land him: he consequently went to sea with us. Believe me most affectionately yours.'

The Agamemnon sailed again on the 11th of May, in company with the Britannia, 110 guns, Admiral Hotham, Colossus, Fortitude, and Courageux, of 74 guns each, and the Meleager and Lowestoffe frigates. The following letters to Mrs. Nelson give an account of the transactions of the squadron until its arrival at Cadiz. 'Agamemnon, twelve leagues N.W. of the island of Guernsey, May 18, 1793. 'This is not the first squadron sent out to do nothing, and worse than nothing. I suppose we are to stay here until Lord Hood arrives, which I think will not be this week to come. We have spoke many neutral vessels from the French ports, who tell us, that Nantes, Bourdeaux, and l'Orient, are filled with English prizes to the French privateers and frigates. This information makes us feel more uneasy.—May 19th, off the Lizard. We are going to morrow to Falmouth for further orders. I think we shall see Torbay before we leave England.'

The squadron cruised off Scilly for a fortnight; and on the 6th of July, Captain Nelson wrote again as follows. 'S. W. 16 leagues from Scilly. I expected, when Lord Hood joined, that we should have gone to Gibraltar; but what his instructions or orders are, I cannot guess. I have not seen him since he joined us a fortnight to morrow; nor had even a boat hoisted out. Our weather, although not bad, has been very unpleasant, foggy with drizzling rain. Agamemnon sails admirably, we think better than any ship in the fleet. Our force is eleven sail of the line, frigates, &c. &c. and in very tolerable order. We have had some naval evolutions when the weather would permit. I shall pay our Admiral a visit as soon as an opportunity offers, and leave this letter with Captain Knight. God bless you.'——'Off Cape St. Vincent, June 14, 1793. I sent you a few lines by a vessel in a convoy we spoke this day week off Scilly, and which turned out to be the fleet we were waiting to protect; and the East Indiamen passing us the same evening, relieved us from a very unpleasant station. We have had the finest passage and weather possible: but have seen nothing except a poor miserable national brig, which one of the ships took. I paid Lord Hood a visit a few days back, and found him very civil: I dare say we shall be good friends again. Six sail of the line have just parted company, going to Cadiz to water, of which number is Agamemnon. We shall be in Cadiz to morrow at

[1] His elder Brother.

twelve o'clock, as well as Lord Hood at Gibraltar. We are all well; my ship remarkably healthy.'

'Agamemnon at sea, Sunday, June 23. We came out this morning, having completed our ship with every thing except wine, which is to be done at Gibraltar. The Spaniards have been very civil to us: we dined on board the Concepcion of 112 guns, with the Admiral; and all restraints of going into their arsenals and dock yards were removed. They have four first rates in commission at Cadiz, and very fine ships, but shockingly manned. If those twenty-one sail of the line which we are to join in the Mediterranean, are not better manned, they cannot be of much use. I am certain if our six barges crews, who are picked men, had got on board one of their first rates, they would have taken her. The Dons may make fine ships, they cannot however make men.

'A Bull Feast[k] was exhibited, for which the Spaniards are famous; and from their dexterity in attacking and killing of these animals, the ladies choose their husbands. We English had certainly to regret the want of humanity in the Dons, and Donnas. The amphitheatre will hold 16,000 people; about 12,000 were present. Ten bulls were selected, and one brought out at a time. Three cavaliers on horseback, and footmen with flags, were the combatants. We had what is called a fine feast: for five horses were killed, and two men very much hurt; had they been killed, it would have been quite complete. We felt for the bulls and horses; and I own it would not have displeased me to have had some of the Dons tossed by the enraged animal. How women can even sit out, much more applaud, such sights, is astonishing. It even turned us sick, and we could hardly go through it: the dead mangled horses with their entrails torn out, and the bulls covered with blood, were too much. However we have seen one Bull Feast, and agree that nothing shall tempt us to see another. The better sort of people never miss one, if within reach of them; and the lowest will sell his jacket, or go without his victuals, rather than be absent.—P. S. Gibraltar, June 24. We arrived here last night, and in a few days sail shall be up the Mediterranean. God bless and preserve you.'

The character of the venerable father of Captain Nelson has been already mentioned; and that parental attention has been noticed, which he invariably paid to the religious principles of his affectionate Horatio. None of the letters which passed between them, during the earlier periods of his son's professional career, have been preserved; but from this time some remain, which display this excellent father in a most interesting point of view. These letters gave an influence to the great truths of Christianity, which the tenderness of a parent never fails to impart, and which confirmed the fortitude and cherished

[k] A particular account of these feasts is given by the Rev. Edward Clarke in his Letters concerning the Spanish Nation, 1763.

the patriotism of the youthful warrior. No son ever honoured a father more sincerely than Nelson. Great minds[l] have generally formed good sons.

The Rev. Edmund Nelson to his son Horatio, dated Burnham, July 12, 1793.

'Every mark of my affection you may justly expect; and it gives me satisfaction to reflect on the many proofs I have had of your disposition to observe those duties, which each relation in life calls for. The approbation of your own mind is far more pleasing than any supposed partiality of mine; though a reward infinitely short of what moral virtue, which is an attendant on true religion, shall one day receive.—The principal domestic occurrence at this juncture is that of your brother's ordination.[m] Thus far, thank God, our design is accomplished: all proceeds favourably, and there is good hope he may prove a worthy member of society. Farming goes on well; and at Christmas I look forward for the auditing my accounts to your own person; Agamemnon and her crew being either honourably discharged, or laid up for the winter in safety. O England! blessed art thou amongst the Isles for thy internal prosperity. In peace and plenty may thy counsellors preserve thee. . . . . As to myself, the material machine keeps pretty nearly the same periodical movement; the repairs must be by a very nice delicate touch, and my mind is so fortified as to meet all common events with calmness: ever steady to my position, that the good of every man's life preponderates over the evil. God bless you.'

On the 27th of June, the Agamemnon sailed from Gibraltar with Lord Hood's fleet, nineteen sail of the line, and a convoy of fifty sail of merchant ships under the St. Albans, Castor, Bull Dog, and some other frigates. On the 30th, when off Cape de Gatte, the Iris, Mermaid, and Tisiphone were sent to Tunis and Tripoli, and l'Aigle with letters to the Spanish Admiral at Barcelona. Their subsequent proceedings to the 8th of August, are detailed in a letter found amongst the Nelson papers, addressed to his R. H. the Duke of Clarence; which, from want of a conveyance at the time, was afterwards superseded by a Journal, which his R. H. has been pleased to furnish.

'Agamemnon, off Cape St. Sebastian, July 14, 1793, to Aug. 8. Sir: We have spoke many neutral vessels, but got no information which in my opinion could be depended on. We saw a fleet off Alicant on the close of the 7th, and lay-to mid-channel between that

[l] The filial gratitude of Milton also illustrates this remark:

'At tibi, chare pater, postquam non æqua merenti
Posse referre datur, nec dona rependere factis,
Sit memorasse satis, repetitaque munera grato
Percensere animo, fidæque reponere menti.'

See *Hayley's Life of Milton, p.* 34.

[m] The Rev. Suckling Nelson.

place and Ivica.* At day-light we formed our line, and soon perceived them to be the Spanish fleet, twenty-four sail of the line. The Dons did not, after several hours trial, form any thing which could be called a line of battle ahead. However, after answering our private signals, the Spanish Admiral sent down two frigates, with answers to Lord Hood's letters by l'Aigle, acquainting him, that as their fleet was very sickly, 1900 men, they were going into Carthagena. The captain of the frigate added, "it was no wonder they were sickly, for they had been sixty days at sea." This speech to us appeared ridiculous; for from the circumstance of having been longer than that time at sea, do we attribute our getting healthy. It has stamped in my mind the extent of their nautical abilities: long may they remain in their present state. No salutes passed, which appeared to me extraordinary. Leda was sent on the 9th to Barcelona; and yesterday the frigates joined the fleet. The news they bring, is that the French are preparing their ships with forges for shot. This if true, I humbly conceive, would have been as well kept secret; but as it is known, we must take care to get so close that their red hots may go through both sides, when it will not matter whether they are hot or cold.—July 14th, the fleet have received orders to consider Marseilles and Toulon as invested, and to take all vessels of whatever nation bound into those ports. This has pleased us: if we make these red hot gentlemen hungry, they may be induced to come out.

'Our fleet continues healthy: we sail in three divisions, led by Victory, Colossus, and Agamemnon. On the 16th of July, in the afternoon, we made Cape Sicie, about two leagues from Toulon, and saw three sail to leeward: Leda and Illustrious were sent in chace. Between nine and ten o'clock at night, a firing of half an hour was heard from them; when, I believe, every person in the fleet expected to have seen some of the enemy's ships brought in. It was the 17th at noon, before they joined us, with a corvette which Leda took that morning. The ships they fired at the night before were three French frigates, who after giving and receiving fire got away. The account we have hitherto heard, has only been from a disappointed flag ship. I pretend not to give an opinion: but the following circumstances are allowed to be facts; that our ships outsailed them, by getting alongside near enough to have men killed in each ship, the master of the Illustrious one of them. It was a bright moon till twelve o'clock, and very little wind all night. It is an universal concern that they were not brought in: not that either party is absolutely blamed.

'We have not yet looked into Toulon, but are now, six P. M. July 18, only four leagues off. Lord Hood told us some days ago, that a frigate was going to Genoa and Leghorn, by which conveyance I intended to have sent your Royal Highness this account of our proceedings. I imagine you would like to know every movement of this fleet. As I have before observed, there are many here who are more able to write than myself, and

who would send you these circumstances in a more concise manner. Mine is little else than a journal, which I shall be glad if you approve of receiving.

'On the 19th of July our fleet stood close into Toulon, and sent in a flag of truce to propose an exchange of prisoners. I think they will soon be so tired, and angry at being blocked up, that they will come out. We have lately experienced for three days, until the 23d, a heavy gale of wind from the N.W. and are much alarmed for the Berwick, who by her signals was in great distress, and bore away before the wind: A frigate, Tyler, was sent after her, but unfortunately missed her in a heavy squall. Leda sprung her main and fore-masts, carried away her main-yard, and went for Leghorn, attended by the Romney. On the 25th of July the flag of truce joined from Toulon: the enemy did not give us a clear answer, whether they would exchange prisoners with us. They have seventeen sail of the line ready for sea, and four fitting, the Commerce de Marseilles one of them; she carries 136 guns, having guns on her gangways: the prisoners believe her sides are so thick that our shot will not go through them; and that she can with ease take the Victory. We form various conjectures whether they will come out or not, in my opinion they will; when they have twenty-one sail ready, and we under twenty, the people will force them out.

'To this 3d of August we have not heard of Berwick. A convoy was expected from Tunis of twenty-five sail, with two sail of the line, three frigates, and two corvettes; but I make no doubt they have information of our being on the coast, and will unload their merchant ships, and secure the men of war, as they have done at Genoa and Leghorn.

'August 5th. From the 26th we have been lying off Toulon. Yesterday an express came from Captain Inglefield, that he had been insulted by two French frigates in Genoa mole, who hauled alongside of him, entangled their yards, and in every way insulted him. The Alcide and two frigates immediately sailed to liberate him.

'August the 8th. We are steering to the eastward, going to show ourselves off Nice, fifteen sail of the line: fleet healthy. Believe me your Royal Highness's attached and faithful servant.'

The following letters to Mrs. Nelson, and his father, retrace, and give a further account of their proceedings. In one from the Gulf of Lyons, dated July 15, he says, 'There seem to be no French ships at sea, at least we have seen nothing like one. We fell in with the Spanish fleet a week ago returning into port, I believe glad we are arrived; and they mean to leave us the honour of keeping the French in order. I really expect never to see them again. Lord Hood is tolerably good friends with me.—18th. We have just got a French sloop of war of 18 guns, bound from Marseilles to Toulon. Remember me most kindly to our good father.'

'August 4th, off Toulon. The Admiral has just sent us word, that the Aquilon will proceed to England with Prince Augustus, I therefore send this letter on board, in case

Agamemnon should be on the look out; for as we sail fast, we are always employed. Whether the French intend to come out, seems uncertain: they have a force equal to us. Our Jacks would be very happy to see it; and, as our fleet is in the fullest health, I dare say we should give a good account of them. I hardly think the war can last; for what are we at war about? How I long to have a letter from you: next to being with you, it is the greatest pleasure I can receive. The being united to such a good woman, I look back to as to the happiest period of my life; and as I cannot here show my affection to you, I do it doubly to Josiah, who deserves it, as well on his own account, as on yours; for he is a real good boy, and most affectionately loves me. Captains Lutwidge and Man have been very ill. Lord Hood has sent to offer me a 74, but I have declined it; as the Admiralty chose to put me into a 64, there I stay. I cannot give up my Officers. Lord Hood approved of my reasons; so far well. If I have not an opportunity of writing to my good Father, send my kindest remembrances to him. God bless you, and believe me your most affectionate husband, Horatio Nelson.'

'Agamemnon, off Nice, August 8, 1793. 'The French here are in a wretched state of confusion: an Army is marched from Marseilles to Paris, and a civil war seems inevitable. The Aquilon is joining the fleet.'—'August 20, off Toulon. The convoy for England is just in sight, therefore I shall not miss the opportunity of writing to you and my father . . . . . Marseilles, I am sure, would almost be put into our hands, if we acted against it. They wish for nothing more than our possessing it, when they would get something to eat: they in general are now almost starving; only six days provisions in the place. Monsieur Egalitê is still in the prison with his daughter. They wish for peace; and are you know at war with the Parisians, with whom they have lately had an action. The Convention has denounced the Marseillois as traitors. If Toulon joins them, they propose offering themselves to our protection. I wish much to hear you are fixed at some place to your satisfaction. Have you made a visit to Lady Walpole?'

'August 20, off Toulon. My dear Father: No occurrence of a public nature has taken place since our arrival here, and our private ones are confined to a very narrow sphere, which yet I am sure will be considered by you a valuable one—*We are all well.* The affairs of France in this country are worse than ever: the guillotine is every day employed. A master of a ship, whom we spoke from Marseilles, says, there are now only two descriptions of people in France, the one drunk and mad, the other, with horror painted in their faces, are absolutely starving: yet nothing brings them to their senses. A peace with England is what they wish for; and Provence would, it is said, willingly put itself, as a separate republic, under the protection of England. In the winter we are to reduce Ville Franche and Nice for the King of Sardinia, and drive the French from Corsica. It seems of no use to send a great fleet here without troops to act with them.

'I consider you now as at high harvest, and hope you have good weather and good

crops. I hear Lady Spencer and the party are at Lucca, a few miles from Pisa. I think we shall be in England in the winter or spring. If the Burnhamites enquire for me, make my compliments. Believe me your most dutiful son, Horatio Nelson.'

On the 20th also, some notice of the neutral frauds of our allies was sent to Captain Locker, dated off Toulon. 'The fleet has hitherto done nothing but look into Toulon. Lord Hood went with the fleet ten days past to speak to the Genoese about supplying the French with corn, and bringing back French property under neutral papers: for our being here is a farce, if this trade is allowed. The Marseillois have said they would destroy Toulon, could they but make Provence a separate republic, under the protection of England. In short, France will be dismembered; but in all their misery they have no thought of kingly government.'

On the 23d of August, three days after the date of this letter, Commissioners from Marseilles came on board the Victory, Lord Hood's flag ship, with full powers to treat[n] for peace, expecting to be met by Commissioners from Toulon; declaring that a monarchical government in France would be the leading object in their negociation. A proclamation was accordingly issued by Admiral Lord Hood, accompanied by a preliminary declaration, addressed to the inhabitants of the towns and provinces in the south of France, which was sent on shore to Toulon and Marseilles. The rapid success of Carteaux opened the gates of Marseilles to republican fury on the 25th of August, and so alarmed the rising patriotism of the Toulonese, that on the very same day the deputies of all the sections of Toulon agreed to Lord Hood's proposal, and declared that the citadel and forts on the coast should be provisionally at his disposal. In this state of the negociation, Captain Nelson was unexpectedly ordered to proceed immediately off Oneglia, and to send an officer on shore to the Vice-consul with Lord Hood's dispatches, addressed to his Excellency John Trevor, Esq. his Majesty's Minister at the court of Turin. The Agamemnon was then instructed to proceed to Naples, with dispatches for Sir William Hamilton; which being done, he was to join the Admiral in the bay of Hieres.

On the third day after Captain Nelson sailed, Lord Hood had obtained possession of fort La Malgue, situated on the right of the entrance of Toulon harbour; and on the 29th of August he anchored in the outer road with the fleet, and took possession of the harbour, arsenal, and ships. On the same day Captain Freemantle was directed to take Lord Hugh Seymour Conway on board his ship, the Tartar, who was intrusted with Lord Hood's dispatches to England, and to proceed with him to Genoa. In performing this service,

[n] In accomplishing this Treaty, the late Captain E. Cooke, a relation of Charles Long, Esq. and Admiral Sir Sidney Smith, rendered essential service. An account of the perils he experienced are given in a letter to his father in law, General Smith (Naval Chronicle, vol. ii. page 378). The same volume contains many original documents of our proceedings on taking possession of Toulon.

the Tartar fell in with the Agamemnon at sea, when Captain Nelson received the following congratulations from Lord Hugh on the taking of Toulon, with some detail of the proceedings.

'August 31, 1793, Tartar.—My dear Nelson: I wish you joy most heartily of our being in possession of Toulon, where our fleet and that of Spain are now anchored. Our squadron landed 1500 men on the 28th, and the day following we anchored in the outer road; the French ships having been previously moved into the inner port to make room for us. I have written to Sir William Hamilton to press him to send as many Neapolitan troops to Toulon as possible, as Lord Hood means to make that request of the court of Naples, being in the greatest want of them to guard the very numerous and extensive works which surround Toulon; and which the inhabitants think General Carteaux will endeavour to make some impression upon, after his success at Marseilles, where he has got the better of the party with whom we have been in treaty. Pray press Sir W. Hamilton to hasten the Neapolitans, as I know it is Lord Hood's most anxious wish to receive them. I am on my way to England with his dispatches, and will take your commands, if you have any, but let me beg of you keep the boat as short a time as possible. The Spaniards came in sight while our troops were landing, and they have since disembarked near 1500 men from their fleet. Our friend Langara commands, and has done most fairly in joining. I have taken upon me to assure Freemantle that you would dispense with his waiting on you, hurried as I am to reach England. Yours ever most sincerely, H. S. Conway.'

During his visit to Naples, Captain Nelson was first introduced to their Sicilian Majesties, and being lodged in the house of the English Ambassador, he commenced that friendship with Sir William and Lady Hamilton, which had afterwards so powerful an influence both on his professional and private life. The only account of this visit that could be found amongst his papers, is detailed in the following letters to Mrs. Nelson.

'*Begun off the island of Sardinia, Sept. 7; finished at anchor off Naples, Sept.* 11, 1793. My dear Fanny: I sent you a line by Lord Conway, who is gone home with Lord Hood's dispatches. As soon as the treaty was concluded, Agamemnon, a fast sailer, was sent off with letters to the courts of Turin and Naples, for ten thousand troops to secure our possession. I should have liked to have stayed one day longer with the fleet when they entered the harbour; but Service could not be neglected for any private gratification. I have only to hope I shall succeed with the King of Naples. The last visit he had was from a French grenadier° belonging to Mons. Truguet's fleet: how differently he must feel at present!

° With an insolence peculiar to the French republic, the King of Naples was thus informed, That if he did not, within an hour, disavow his remonstrance against the reception of M. Semonville at Constantinople, war would be declared against him.

'What an event this has been for Lord Hood! such an one as history cannot produce its equal; that the strongest place in Europe, and twenty-two sail of the line, &c. should be given up without firing a shot.—It is not to be credited.

'On Sunday, August 25th, a party deposed Admiral Trogoff, and placed St. Julien at the head of the fleet, manned sixteen sail of the line, and were determined to come out and fight us, who were only twelve sail; Lord Hood having sent away the other part of his fleet to give them the option, the fleet regret they did not: the issue we should doubtless have liked better than laying them up dismantled. The perseverance of our fleet has been great, and to that only can be attributed our unexampled success. Not even a boat could get into Marseilles or Toulon, or on the coast with provisions, and the old saying, That hunger will tame a lion, was never more strongly exemplified. The Spanish fleet arrived as ours was sailing into the harbour, and joined in the general joy which this event must give to all Europe. St. Julien, with about 4000 men, left the fleet as ours entered, and joined General Carteaux, who, I think it probable, by this time has attacked Toulon with the Parisian army. They have made sad work with the Marseillois in treaty with us: hope to God our success may be so used, as to give peace to that unhappy distracted country. Nice, Villafranca, Monaco, &c. which were taken from the King of Sardinia, must revert again to him, whenever our fleet can be liberated from Toulon. I believe the world is convinced that no conquests of importance can be made without us; and yet, as soon as we have accomplished the service we are ordered on, we are neglected. If Parliament does not grant something to this fleet, our Jacks will grumble; for here there is no prize-money to soften their hardships: all we get is Honour and Salt beef. My poor fellows have not had a morsel of fresh meat or vegetables for near nineteen weeks, and in that time I have only had my foot twice on shore at Cadiz. We are absolutely getting sick from fatigue. No fleet I am certain ever served their Country with greater zeal than this has done, from the admiral to the lowest sailor.

'Admiral Goodall is Governor of Toulon, Elphinstone commander of the grand battery[p] at the harbour's mouth. I may have lost an appointment by being sent off; not that I wish to be employed out of my ship. I have sent in a vessel from Smyrna bound to Marseilles, and I think it probable she will be condemned, worth about 10,000*l*: I hope she may, it will add something to our comforts. We are now in sight of Mount Vesuvius, which shews a fine light to us in Naples Bay, where we are lying-to for the night, and hope to anchor early to morrow.—P. S. We were in the bay all night becalmed, and nothing could be finer than the view of Mount Vesuvius.'

'Naples, Sept. 14, 1793. My other letter will arrive with this. Our news was received

[p] Fort la Malgue.

here with the greatest satisfaction. The King has twice sent for me, and I dine with him to morrow, after he has made me a visit which he is to do on board Agamemnon. We are called by him the saviours of Italy, and of his dominions in particular. I have acted for Lord Hood with a zeal which no one could exceed, and am to carry from the King the handsomest letter in his own handwriting which could possibly be. This I got through Sir William Hamilton, and the Prime Minister, who is an Englishman.[9] Lady Hamilton has been wonderfully kind and good to Josiah; she is a young woman of amiable manners, and who does honour to the station to which she is raised. I am to carry Lord Hood 6000 troops from hence. Remember me to my dear Father, also to Lord and Lady Walpole. Believe me your most affectionate husband.'

'Leghorn, Sept. 27, 1793. My dear Fanny: I am sorry to tell you the vessel I sent in here is cleared, so all my hopes, which I own were not very sanguine, are gone. Prizes are not to be met with, except so covered by neutral papers that you may send in fifty, and not one turn out good. I was hurried from Naples by information of a French ship of war, and three vessels under her convoy, being off. I had nothing left but to get to sea, which I did in two hours: expedition however has not crowned my endeavours with success; for I have seen nothing of them. I am here plagued with a French 40 gun frigate, who was to have sailed the day I arrived, and will take the first dark moment to get out. I am determined in my own mind to pursue him. I hope to sail to morrow if this gentleman does not, and shall lie in his route to intercept him if he sails.

'I have just heard, that last night the crew of my neighbour deposed their Captain, made the lieutenant of marines captain of the ship, the serjeant of marines lieutenant of marines, and their former Captain, serjeant of marines. What a state! they are mad enough for any undertaking. They say, as they have five hundred men on board, they will go to sea this night in spite of me: I shall be surprised at nothing they may attempt.—I dined with the King of Naples the day before I sailed, and was placed at his right hand, and every attention paid me. He would have visited my ship the day I sailed; but I was hurried away unexpectedly.—Sept. 28. We have been looking out all night for our neighbour to cut his cables, as it has blown a gale of wind and rain: but he lay in such a position that he could not cast his ship without getting on board us, which he did not choose to risk. I shall sail to morrow for Toulon. God bless you.'

'Agamemnon, Toulon, Oct. 7. As I never omit an opportunity of writing, I shall not let a ship sail for Leghorn without a letter. I came here two days since, and shall sail on a cruise to morrow. Lord Hood is much pleased with me. Our situation here is wonderful: the hills are occupied by the enemy, who are erecting works for mortars and cannon.

[9] Sir John Acton, an English Baronet. See Appendix, No. 5.

Whether we shall be able to maintain our most extraordinary acquisition, time only can determine: however one hour will burn the French fleet. You will not forget me to my Father.'

On the next day, October 9th, he received sealed orders from the Admiral, which he was not to open until he had arrived off the east end of the island of Porqueroll, one of the Hieres cluster. On opening his orders at the place appointed, he was directed to proceed without loss of time to Cagliari, in the island of Sardinia, where he would find Commodore Linzee, to whom he was to deliver a packet, and to follow his directions. On the 12th of October, Captain Nelson continues his correspondence: 'My dear Fanny: I received a letter from Mr. Suckling yesterday, and was indeed truly sorry to hear you were not perfectly well. Why should you alarm yourself? I am well, your son is well, and we are as comfortable in every respect, as the nature of our service will admit. Lord Hood is now quite as he used to be, he is so good an officer that every body must respect him. All the foreigners at Toulon absolutely worship him; were any accident to happen to him, I am sure no person in our fleet could supply his place. Every day at Toulon has hitherto afforded some brilliant action on shore, in which the sea officers have made a very conspicuous figure; Elphinstone[r] in particular, who is a good officer and gallant man. I have only been a spectator; but had we remained, I should certainly have desired to be landed. Some of our ships have been pegged pretty handsomely; yet such is the force of habit, that we seem to feel no danger. The other day we sat at a court martial on board Admiral Hotham, when Princess Royal, a French 74, our friend, three frigates, and four mortar boats, were firing at a battery for four hours, the shot and shells going over us, which, extraordinary as it may seem, made no difference. The Ardent, Captain Robert Manners Sutton, brother to the bishop, was much cut up, after behaving with the *greatest* gallantry and good conduct; near thirty of his men were either killed or are since dead of their wounds. Indeed wherever our ships or sea officers have had an opportunity, they have all behaved well. God bless you.'

On the 6th of October, the day after the arrival of the second division of the Neapolitan troops, Captain Nelson had written to Sir W. Hamilton, who on the 31st returned the following answer. 'A thousand thanks, dear Sir, for your very kind letter. We shall ever remember with pleasure the having had an opportunity of making your valuable acquaintance; and we flatter ourselves that the service may bring the Agamemnon again to Naples, where Lady Hamilton and myself will always be happy to see you. You may well imagine the satisfaction I received, by the account of the arrival[s] of the Neapolitan

[r] The present Lord Keith.

[s] On the 28th of September, 1793, the first division of Neapolitan ships, under Marshal Forteguerre, the Commodore, had arrived at Toulon, with 2000 troops in two ships of the line, two frigates, and two sloops. On the 5th of October, the second division of Neapolitan ships, with upwards of 2000 more troops, arrived, and the fol-

troops at Toulon, and of their immediate good behaviour. My sincere good wishes, and those of Lady Hamilton, will ever attend you.'

Captain Nelson's first engagement, in the Agamemnon, with the enemy, took place on the 22d of October, when detached from the squadron under Commodore Linzee, and is noticed in a letter to his brother Maurice, dated at Tunis, Nov. 8, 1793. 'On the 22d of October, off the island of Sardinia, having only 345 men at quarters, the others being landed at Toulon and in prizes, we fell in with and chased the following French men of war from Tunis: Melpomene, 44 guns, nine and eighteen pounders, 400 men; La Minerve, 44 guns, nine and eighteen pounders, 400 men; La Fortunée, 44 guns, twelve and thirty-six pounders, 500 men; Le Fouchet, 24 guns, nine pounders, 220 men; Brig, 14 guns, nine pounders, 100 men. The Agamemnon, after a firing of near four hours, so disabled the Melpomene (as supposed) she being apparently in a sinking state, that the other ships declined bringing the Agamemnon again to action, and, as it appeared, to take care of their companion; since they had the option to renew the engagement for three hours after the Melpomene hauled from us. The Agamemnon was so cut to pieces as to be unable to haul the wind towards them.'

Captain Nelson, who had at that time called his officers together, amongst other questions asked them, 'From what you see of the state of our ship, is she fit to go into action with such a superior force against us, without some small refit and refreshment for our people?' 'She certainly is not.' His orders then were, 'Veer the ship, and lay her head to the westward; let some of the best men be employed refitting the rigging, and the carpenters getting crows and capstern bars to prevent our wounded spars from coming down, and get the wine up for the people, with some bread; for it may be half an hour good before we are again in action.'—Lord Hood, in his letter to the Admiralty, dated November 13th, did not fail to mention this action. 'On the 22d of last month, the Agamemnon fell in with the four frigates, that had left the bay of Tunis, each carrying

lowing Commanders received on the 10th of October, pursuant to the pleasure of the King of the two Sicilies, Lord Hood's orders to put themselves and their ships under his command:

Commanders.	Ships
Marshal Forteguerre, Commodore and Commander of the squadron of his Sicilian Majesty's ships;—Le Chevalier Spannocchi, Captain.....	Guiscardi, 74
Chevalier Caraccioli (who afterwards suffered in the bay of Naples)	Tancredi, 74
Don Tommaso Vicuna	La Sibille, frigate.
Don Francois Mariscotti.....	La Sirene, frigate.
Le Compte de Thurn	L'Arethuse, ditto.
Don Pasquale Valle	La Minerve, ditto.
Don Joseph Almagro	La Fortune, corvette.
Le Chev. Sterlich	L'Aurore, ditto.
Don Joseph Carraba	Le Vulcain, brig.
Don Francis Quattromani	L'Eparvier, ditto.
Don Vincent Cimaglia	L'Active, row galley.
Don Nicholas Chiroga	La Vespe, ditto.

28 eighteen pounders, and a corvette of 14 nine pounders, and had a partial action with one of the frigates, which sailed superior to the others; I since find they are all arrived at St. Fiorenzo in Corsica.'

Some further account of this event, and of the subsequent proceedings of the Agamemnon, are preserved in the following letters; the first of which was addressed by Mr. William Hoste, a midshipman on board the Agamemnon, then in his thirteenth year, to his father,[1] Nov. 27, 1793. After giving an account of the negociation at Tunis, under Commodore Linzee, Mr. Hoste thus proceeds: 'On the 22d of October, when running down the island of Sardinia, about two o'clock in the morning, being off Monte Santo, twenty leagues to the northward of Cagliari, we saw five sail of ships standing to the N.W: on observing us, they tacked and stood to the eastward. Captain Nelson, suspecting them to be a French convoy, immediately stood after them. About three o'clock we were very near up with the hindermost; and at four got within gunshot. We hailed her in French, but receiving no answer, fired a gun ahead for her to bring-to, and shorten sail; when we observed her making signals with sky-rockets to her consorts, who were at some distance to windward. After we had repeatedly hailed to no purpose, we fired one of our eighteen pounders at her, to oblige them to shorten sail; and at the same time opened our lower deck ports, which frightened her, as she immediately made sail to get away; from which it appears that she took us for a frigate. It was daylight before we got up with her again, as she had the start of us. About five A.M. we came within half gun shot, and found her to be a fine forty gun frigate; she hoisted national colours, and favoured us with a broadside. We returned the compliment, but our situation was rather unfavourable, and our shot did not at all times hit her; whilst she, owing to her superiority of sailing, kept her position and pointed her guns to advantage, firing in an angular direction, which did more execution. She bravely engaged us in this manner for three hours, both ships sailing at the rate of six knots an hour, until by our constant firing it fell calm. The other frigates were coming after us with a fresh breeze; consequently we expected to have warm work, and were therefore anxious to dispatch this gentleman before they arrived: but, about eight o'clock, by an alteration of the wind, our antagonist got out of the reach of our guns. Our last broadside did infinite damage; nor was what we had received inconsiderable, as our rigging was shot away, and our main topmast broken, which prevented us from going after the frigate. We had one man killed, and two wounded.

'By this time the other ships were within a league of us, the nearest one appeared to be of the same force as ourselves; and, as the rest were coming down with all sail set, we expected nothing less than that they would engage us, and we accordingly prepared

[1] The Rev. Dixon Hoste, of Godwick, Norfolk, an early friend of Captain Nelson's family. His son at present commands the Amphion.

for their reception: but their courage failed them, for we had given their friend so complete a drubbing, that she made signals of distress; upon which all of them went to her assistance, and hoisted their boats out. We accordingly pursued our destined course to Cagliari; being satisfied with offering them battle.

'Had the breeze continued, we should have preserved our distance from the other frigates, and our antagonist must have struck, or sunk; though if she had struck, we could not have taken possession of her in sight of a force so superior. The Agamemnon had only 350 men at quarters, and consequently was not better than a fifty gun ship. Captain Nelson is acknowledged to be one of the first characters in the service, and is universally beloved by his men and officers.'

The following extract from Lord Hood's orders, dated Nov. 15, to Commodore Linzee, then lying at Tunis, shews that Admiral's confidence in the zeal and talents of Nelson. "You are to expostulate with his Excellency the Bey,[u] in the strongest and most impressive manner, on the impolicy of his giving countenance and support to so heterogeneous a government as the present one of France, composed of murderers and assassins, who have recently beheaded their Queen in a manner that would disgrace the most barbarous savages. And as the four frigates, which the Agamemnon fell in with, got to St. Fiorenzo in Corsica, and will probably make for Villafranca, whenever they are able, as they can get no supplies at St. Fiorenzo, I direct you to send Nelson immediately to cruise from Calvi to the gulf of Especia, to look out for them; but not to let it be known where he is gone, and to take under his command such ships as he may find on that station, which are the Mermaid, Tartar, Topaze French frigate, and Scout brig, and probably the Amphitrite: And in addition to looking out for the French frigates, you are to direct him to prevent all ships and vessels from going to Genoa, as that port is in a state of investment and blockade by a part of the fleet under my command. In the execution of this service, he is to be as careful as possible not to give further offence to the subjects of such powers, whose vessels he may chance to fall in with, and whose Sovereigns are at present in amity with England, than making known to them the purport of these orders. But in case they should persist in going to the port of Genoa, he is then to stop the said vessels, and send them to Leghorn, or Porto Ferrajo, there to be detained."

On the 1st of December, when writing to Captain Locker, off Sardinia, he takes some notice of the negotiation with the Bey. 'Your letter, my dear friend, I got two days

[u] The Bey of Tunis is a Chief of very superior abilities, and at the conference which Captain Nelson held with him, displayed a quickness of talents, which even disconcerted the Captain of the Agamemnon. On being told of the excesses which the French government had committed, he drily observed, 'That nothing could be more heinous than the murder of their Sovereign; and yet, Sir,' added the Bey, 'if your historians tell the truth, your own countrymen once did the same.'

past in Tunis Bay. The English never yet succeeded in a negotiation against the French, and we have not set the example at Tunis; for the Monsieurs have completely upset us with the Bey, and, had we latterly attempted to take them, I am sure he would have declared against us, and done our trade some damage. Lord Hood has ordered me from Linzee's command, and has written me a very handsome letter.—I think they will have a good deal of fighting at Toulon this winter. Shot and shells are very plentiful all over the harbour, and I wonder more damage has not been done. General O'Hara, I hope, will be able to drive the French from the heights, near the harbour, or we shall be unpleasantly situated. Not that I think Toulon is in the smallest danger. They have some of the finest ships there I ever saw; the Commerce de Marseilles has seventeen ports on each deck, the Victory looks like nothing to her. Agamemnon has had her share of service: we have only had our anchor down thirty-four times since we sailed from the Nore, and then only to get water or provisions. Lord Hood is certainly the best officer I ever saw. Every order from him is so clear, it is impossible to misunderstand him.'—' Dec. 8th. I have been in sight of the French squadron all day, and we hear they have been joined by a frigate from Calvi; but I really think that the frigate who received most of our fire is not here.'

During the time in which the Agamemnon was thus engaged, Lieutenant General O'Hara, being appointed Governor of Toulon and Commander of the forces, had arrived there on the 25th of October, with a considerable reinforcement; and by his Majesty's commission, Lord Hood, Sir Gilbert Elliot, and Lieutenant General O'Hara, were appointed Commissioners for negotiating and concluding all civil arrangements in the south of France. On the 20th of November the commission was opened, and a declaration was made in his Majesty's name, assuring the inhabitants of his protection. But the treachery of our perfidious allies was at the same moment secretly counteracting the able measures that had been taken; and which Lord Mulgrave, who had accepted the command of the British troops, with the rank of Brigadier General, had ably supported by his gallantry, previous to the arrival of Lieutenant General O'Hara, and Major General Dundas. Castilian honour, high as it used to stand, was not proof against the wiles of Robespierre; and the half measures, and feeble co-operation of the Neapolitan Commodore Forteguerre, had already obliged our Admiral to send a remonstrance to the court of Naples. The Spanish Admiral Langara had openly declared,—' That although the crippling of the French marine might be advantageous to Great Britain, it would injure the interests of his own country.' The French army before Toulon amounted to 40,000 men, and even this force, after the surrender of Lyons, became daily augmented. Their artillery was commanded by Buonapartè, then a Captain, who during this siege first displayed his military talents, and thus recommended himself to the notice of Commissioner Barras; whose authority at that time, both with the army, and in the state, had a commanding influence.

The army of the Allies, composed of different nations,[x] and consequently speaking different languages, never exceeded 16,100: yet, notwithstanding this disparity of numbers, if it had not been for the unaccountable panic which seized the Neapolitan troops, during the sitting of the council of war that was held in the forenoon of Dec. 17th, and the shameful remissness of Admiral Langara, Lord Hood's arrangement would have been completely executed, for destroying all the French ships in the arsenal and bason before the town, together with the magazine, the arsenal itself, and the various stores it contained. Ten ships, however, of the line in the arsenal, with three frigates and two corvettes, together with the mast-house, great store-house, hemp-house, and other buildings, were destroyed by Sir Sidney Smith and the officers under his orders; and three ships of the line, five frigates, and seven corvettes, besides many smaller vessels, accompanied the British fleet. The whole of this memorable transaction is detailed in the following letters from Captain Nelson, to his R. H. the Duke of Clarence, and to Mrs. Nelson; and though this account was chiefly given from reports that were made to him whilst at Leghorn, it is upon the whole sufficiently correct.

'Agamemnon, Leghorn Roads, December 27, 1793. Sir: My last letter to your Royal Highness, would convey to you my opinion of the impossibility of holding Toulon without a superior army in the field: but the fall of it has been something quicker than I expected, owing to the foreign troops having but very badly defended some of the out-posts, as reported here by several vessels with some of the wretched inhabitants of Toulon. Lord Hood is said to have attempted rallying the flying troops, but in vain; and that he exposed himself to great danger. The reports, although there is some difference in the telling, all seem to agree that the following are facts: That on the 13th a most numerous army covered the hills; that Lord Hood issued a proclamation to prepare the inhabitants for what would probably happen, the evacuation of Toulon; that on the 17th,[y] at eight o'clock at night, the enemy made a general attack on all our out-posts, which lasted the whole night, many of which they carried with too much ease; that the other out-posts were obliged to be abandoned, and the troops to retire to fort la Malgue; that

[x] The following is a correct return of the combined forces at Toulon on the 4th of November, 1793.

British	2114
Spaniards	6523
Neapolitans	4332
Sardinians and Piedmontese	1584
French Royalists	1542
Total	16,095

[y] Lord Hood in his official dispatch to the Admiralty said, "The general attack was made at two in the morning of the 17th of December, the enemy having kept up a continual discharge of shot and shells for twenty-four hours before; the right of the lines occupied by the Spaniards gave way, by which the enemy entered the works, and soon got full possession of all the heights."

on the 18th, Lord Hood ordered all the Neapolitans to be embarked together, with as many royalists as could find ships to carry them; and that our fleet with that of Spain were anchored under la Malgue. On the 19th in the morning such a scene was displayed, as would make the hardest heart feel: the mob had risen, was plundering, and committing every excess; many, numbers cannot be estimated, were drowned in trying to get off; boats upset; and many put a period to their existence. One family of a wife and five children are just arrived, the husband shot himself. Indeed, Sir, the recital of their miseries is too afflicting to dwell upon. In this scene of horror Lord Hood was obliged to order the French fleet of twenty sail of the line, and as many other ships of war, together with the arsenal and powder magazines, to be set on fire: report says one half of that miserable place is in ashes.

'The Neapolitan fleet, and near 100 sail with them, are arrived in Port Especia, twelve leagues from hence. What calamities do civil wars produce; and how much does it behove every person to give their aid in keeping peace at home: it is the poor inhabitants of Toulon that I feel for. The quitting Toulon by us, I am satisfied, is a national benefit; both in money, for our contracts will be found to have been very extravagant, people seemed to act as if fortunes were to be made instantly, and in saving some of our gallant English blood, which, when the muster comes to be taken, will appear to have flowed plentifully. The destruction of the fleet and arsenal, and indeed of the harbour of Toulon for a number of years, is a great benefit to England. I have only to regret it could not have been done on the first day of our entrance. I expect Lord Hood here immediately, although they say he is in Hieres Bay, having blown up Fort la Malgue. I shall not close this letter till the moment of the post going out.

'Four sail filled with wounded soldiers and sailors are just arrived. It is thought that the governor here will not allow the emigrées to land; Leghorn being, as they say, in want of provisions. I have still a small squadron blocking up the frigates in Corsica, who are in the greatest distress. And I remain, as ever, your Royal Highness's most dutiful and faithful servant.'

'Agamemnon, Dec. 27. My dear Fanny: Every thing which domestic wars produce usually is multiplied at Toulon. Fathers are here without their families, families without their fathers. In short all is horror. I have the Count de Grasse under my command, in a French frigate; his wife and family are at Toulon. Lord Hood put himself at the head of the flying troops, and was the admiration of every one; but the torrent was too strong. Many of our posts were carried without resistance; at others, which the English occupied, every one perished. I cannot write all: my mind is deeply impressed with grief. Each teller makes the scene more horrible. Lord Hood shewed himself the same collected good officer which he always was.—I have only time to say, God bless you.'

At the general council of officers held at Lord Hood's house in Toulon, on the forenoon of the 17th of December, it had been the general opinion, That the two principal posts being lost, the others were not tenable, and that it became necessary to take measures for a retreat: the posts of Malbousquet and Mississi were however ordered to be held as long as possible, together with the great fort la Malgue. On the night of the 18th, the general retreat and embarkation of the British troops and Toulonese inhabitants took place, amidst the conflagration of the ships and buildings in the arsenal. This dreadful conflagration, together with the explosion of the two powder ships, for a considerable time illuminated the heights of Pharon, immediately behind the town, where numbers of the enemy were seen by the glittering of their arms, descending the hill; but their progress was for a while arrested by the flames, and by their fears lest the whole town should be blown up at their approach. The calmness of the night, the clearness of the atmosphere, the distant shouts and cries that resounded from the shore, as the flames increased, excited in the minds of those who were afloat the most awful sensations, and exhibited a scene which can be more easily imagined than described.

Captain Nelson, in a former letter, observed, that it was the intention of the Admiral to attack Corsica in the winter. This opinion had been founded on what he understood had passed during the time Lord Hood was in possession of Toulon. With a view to throw light upon a part of our naval history that is little known, it may not be uninteresting to retrace with brevity the motives of the Admiral for undertaking the conquest of Corsica. In the months of August and September, 1793, Lord Hood had received pressing letters from General Paoli, representing the facility with which the French might be driven from their posts in that island; the vulnerable points of attack were pointed out, and it was intimated, that even the appearance of a few ships would prove of essential service, provided it should not be judged expedient to make an attack by them on any of the forts. His Lordship was therefore induced to order a small squadron [z] to sail early in September for Corsica, under the command of Commodore Linzee, consisting of three ships of the line, and two frigates. The Commodore was, amongst other things, instructed to gain a correct information of the state of the island, and particularly of the strength of the several forts in Bastia, Calvi, and St. Fiorenzo; and on finding the offers resisted, which he was empowered to make to the French, he was to consider how far the forts could be reduced by the force under his command; which he was to endeavour to effect, if it appeared practicable with-

Ships	Commanders.
[z] Alcide	Commodore Linzee, Captain Woodley.
Ardent	Captain Sutton.
Courageux	Lieut. Browell, in the absence of the Hon. Captain Waldegrave.
Lowestoffe	Captain Wolseley.
Nemesis	Captain Lord Amelius Beauclerk.

out too much risking his Majesty's ships. The Commodore made an unsuccessful attack on the forts in St. Fiorenzo Bay, in which forty-six men were killed and wounded: his failure was attributed to the want of General Paoli's promised co-operation with his Corsican forces by land. Lord Hood in a letter to the Admiralty of the 6th of October, said, 'I had always my suspicions that General Paoli was not to be relied upon, and Commodore Linzee's letter to me of the 1st instant, a copy of which I now transmit, proves I was not mistaken in my opinion of him.' In a subsequent letter to the Admiralty, bearing date Nov. 4th, his Lordship added, 'Early in September I received information that the Bey of Tunis was wavering in his principles, and continued to take part with the French Convention. I had at this time prepared a squadron to go to Corsica, to try what could be done in favour of General Paoli; which did him but little good, owing to bad information, and a direct breach of promise in the General, who gave the strongest assurance to Commodore Linzee, that he would make an attack by land, at the same time the squadron did by sea; but he never attempted it. Two ships of the line were so much disabled they could not keep the sea, and were ordered into port. After Commodore Linzee could be no longer useful to General Paoli, his orders were to proceed to Tunis with offers of friendship to the Bey, and the most effectual support of his Majesty's fleet under my command.'

Soon after the evacuation of Toulon, Captain Edward Cooke had been sent on a mission to General Paoli, to know the real posture of affairs in Corsica, and what the General had distinctly to propose, for dispossessing the French of the posts they occupied in that island. Captain Cooke returned from Corsica, and joined Lord Hood in Hieres Bay on the 7th of January, 1794, and delivered a letter from General Paoli, making absolute proposals, and fresh assurances of the active co-operation of his brave Corsicans to drive the French from their strong holds; which letter Lord Hood on the same day transmitted to the Admiralty, accompanied by Captain Cooke's report on the relative situation of the French and Corsicans. 'I now intend,' added Lord Hood in that letter, 'to send Lieut. Colonel Moore and Major Koehler to General Paoli, to consult with him upon a plan of operation, and to inform themselves of the necessary force, &c. that will be required to be landed; and I have requested of Sir Gilbert Elliot, that he will have the goodness to accompany them. I have given Sir Gilbert a letter to General Paoli, of which I transmit a copy, in order to settle a convention with the General, and the principal persons that compose the government of the island; holding myself in readiness to act the first opportunity that offers, after it is signed, provided no material objections appear to Colonel Moore.'—The principal stipulations in this convention, as proposed by Lord Hood, were, That in consideration of the succours to be afforded by the naval and military forces of his Britannic Majesty, in order to drive the French from the forts which they then held in

General Paoli's country, the island of Corsica should be delivered into the immediate possession of his Majesty, and should bind itself to acquiesce in any settlement his Majesty might hereafter approve of, concerning its government, and the future relation that might be established between his Majesty and that island.—In the meantime Captain Nelson was kept cruising off Corsica with a small squadron, to prevent the French from receiving supplies; and Lord Hood, having on the 23d of January received a very encouraging report from Lieutenant Colonel Moore and Major Koehler, and at the same time certain information that the French had actually embarked at Nice 8000 troops, which were at all risks to proceed to Corsica under convoy of two frigates, a corvette, and some other armed vessels; he that evening detached three more frigates to Captain Nelson, the more effectually to line the coast, and to guard Bastia also. The next morning Lord Hood put to sea, accompanied by sixty sail of ships and vessels, including army victuallers and transports, having upwards of 2000 unfortunate Toulonese on board. The distinguished part which Captain Nelson took in the succeeding sieges of Bastia and Calvi, has never yet been detailed. The documents that remain to illustrate this period of his life, consist of the letters which were written during those sieges to his wife, of a journal which he daily kept, and of the constant official correspondence which he was necessarily obliged to continue with the Admiral.

A letter to Mrs. Nelson, which was dated off Calvi, January 6th, brings up his own relation to that date:—'I left Leghorn on the 3d, and very soon got off here, since which time we have had nothing but hard gales of wind, and the heaviest rains I almost ever met with. I am waiting anxiously for troops from Lord Hood to take St. Fiorenzo, and the frigates, which will fall into our hands a few hours after their arrival. I was most unfortunately driven a few miles to leeward two days ago, in the height of the gale; and a frigate took that opportunity of sailing from St. Fiorenzo to Calvi with provisions. One of my frigates exchanged a few shot with her, but at too great a distance to prevent her from getting in. I had so closely blockaded Calvi, that they must have surrendered to me at discretion; not a vessel had before got in for the six weeks I have been stationed here. This supply will keep them a week or two longer.—We now know from a deserter, that it was the Melpomene who engaged us on October 22: she had twenty-four men killed, and fifty wounded, and was so much damaged as to be laid up dismantled in St. Fiorenzo: she would have struck long before we parted, but for the gunner who opposed it; and when at length the colours were ordered to be struck by general consent, we ran into a calm, whilst the other ships came up with a fresh breeze, and joined their consort. Admiral Trogoff tells me, she is allowed to be the finest frigate out of France, and the fastest sailer; we were unlucky to select her, the others we could outsail: had she struck, I don't think the others would have come down, and I should have had great credit in taking her from

such superior force: now of course nothing can be known of that business, and I have to look out for another opportunity, which is very scarce here.

'I have just received a most handsome letter from Lord Hood: he looks upon these frigates as certain, trusting to my zeal and activity, and knows, if it is in the power of man to have them, I will secure them. Linzee was to have been here for this service, and to settle plans with General Paoli, the chief of the Corsicans, relative to landing the troops, &c. Andrews[a] is my ambassador. This business going through my hands is a proof of Lord Hood's confidence in me, and that I shall pledge myself for nothing, but what will be acceptable to him. I have promised my people as soon as we have taken Corsica, that I would ask for a month's rest for them: except to get provisions, I have not been one hour at anchor for pleasure, since April 23d; but I can assure you I never was better in health, as is Josiah. On Sunday I expect Lord Hood and the troops. Hoste is indeed a most exceeding good boy, and will shine in our Service. We shall talk these matters over again in a winter's evening.'

The island of Corsica, which during this war became so much the object of public attention, had been in remote times only known as a place of banishment, and for its barren rocks, its bitter honey, and its supply of ship timber to the Romans. Having afterwards passed under the immense power of the Saracens, and then been successively dignified with the title of a kingdom by the Emperors of Germany, it became a part of the extentensive landed security of the celebrated Genoese Bank of St. George. On the decline of that republic it had gradually fallen a prey to civil discords, and under the short-lived reign of the famous German adventurer Theodore, had been supported by its alliance with England. In 1735, Giacinto Paoli, of a noble Corsican family, having on account of his abilities been elected one of their Chiefs against the Genoese, had been compelled to take shelter in the kingdom of Naples, where his son Pasquale was brought up in the army of

[a] Now Capt. Andrews, brother to the Miss Andrews with whom Capt. Nelson became acquainted in France. His health has suffered from the wounds received during his services, of which the following is a short account. 'During the blockade of Toulon, the Agamemnon was frequently engaged with the French batteries; after its surrender he left that ship, and went to Leghorn in a prize, where finding that Tuscany had declared in favour of the allies, and was in consequence infested by the French gun-boats from Corsica, Mr. Andrews, with the command of the York brig, in the space of eight days, succeeded in destroying two gun-boats and capturing a third, and saved several vessels laden with corn and wine for Lord Hood's fleet, from being taken. He then rejoined the Agamemnon, and served through the whole blockade of St. Fiorenzo and Bastia; during which time he was frequently landed, and destroyed all the flour mills at St. Fiorenzo, and all the vessels at Port St. Mary's. He likewise cut out the Antibes packet-boat from the island of Cabrera, under a very heavy fire from the batteries and small arms, with the loss of one man killed and two wounded; by which intelligence of importance was obtained respecting Corsica. He was the first naval officer sent to General Paoli previous to the Siege, with whom he remained three days to consult on the plans of attack. He likewise served on shore during the whole Siege under Captain Nelson, and commanded the advanced battery, where he was severely wounded.'

his Sicilian Majesty. In 1755, Giacinto had taken advantage of a favourable opportunity to send his son, then 29 years old, to Corsica, where he had been immediately appointed General Commandant of the island, and in that capacity had superseded the power of the Genoese in the inland parts of Corsica, had restored the already decayed ecclesiastical discipline,[b] had founded an university, and encouraged science. He nobly supported his countrymen both against Genoa and France, until the latter gained possession of the island in 1769, when he took refuge in England. Paoli afterwards returned to Corsica in 1790, and had in great measure regained his power. Still, however, finding his situation insecure, he had applied, as has been already mentioned, to the English Admiral, who detached Captain Nelson, with a squadron, to prepare the plan of the intended operations. During the month of January, 1794, General Paoli[c] sent the following letters, written in English, to Captain Nelson from Murato.

'Jan. 17th. Sir: By Lieutenant George Andrews I had yesterday the honour of your letter of the 15th instant, and with this officer we have agreed about the signals. A little before he came, Sir Gilbert Elliot, Colonel Moore, and Major Koehler, arrived here: they are gone this morning to reconnoitre the environs of St. Fiorenzo; and I hope they will bring a plan, such as Lord Hood seems desirous to have. If we are able to get any material intelligence, you may be sure it shall be communicated to you as soon as possible.'—'Jan. 21. The felucca carrying the courier of France, which you had taken on the 19th, having landed the letters and men of the vessel, the Corsicans took every one of them. The result of the intercepted correspondence is, That every thirty-six hours there sails from Nice a vessel laden with provisions; the French intend a considerable expedition against Corsica, but are prevented from the means, by the presence of the English in Hieres Bay, which incommodes them very much. I have the honour to inform you directly of this correspondence, and that the ferocity of the Jacobins is not inferior to their insolence. I avail myself of the first moment that offers to acquaint you with this, and hope that Corsica will very soon be delivered by the powerful intervention of the English. At Marseilles, and Toulon, they are arming the vessels which were not burnt, and the Convention has established a magazine at Menton for supplying the town of Nice. I have the honour to remain, with sincere esteem, &c. Pasquale Paoli.'

Captain Nelson, in a letter to his wife, from Leghorn, Jan. 30th, mentions an instance of his bravery, previous to the landing of the troops. 'I was blown off my station on the

[b] This particularly refers to the singular though not generally known policy, which Paoli adopted with an acuteness worthy of Machiavel, in sending a Corsican Abbè of the name of Alessandrini to Rome; who in time succeeded, contrary to the original intentions of his Holiness, in causing an Apostolic Visitor to be sent to Corsica. But on his attempting to leave the Island, he was seized by the Genoese, who retained their power on the coast, and was sent prisoner to Genoa.

[c] General Paoli, born at Rostino in Corsica, April 5th, 1725, died in London, February 5th, 1807, aged 82.

28th, in the hardest gale almost ever remembered here. The Agamemnon did well, but lost every sail in her. Lord Hood had joined me off Corsica the day before; and would have landed the troops, but the gale has dispersed them over the face of the waters. The Victory was very near lost, however we are safe; a number of transports are missing. I am fearful the enemy will get their troops from France before I can return to my station, which will be a vexing thing after my two months hard fag.

'I hope to get my ship to sea to morrow. I direct this to Bath, where I desire you will not want for any thing: my expences are by no means great, therefore don't be afraid of money. A circumstance happened a few days past, which gave me great satisfaction. January 21st, the French having their storehouse of flour near a water-mill close to St. Fiorenzo, I seized a happy moment, and landed sixty soldiers and sixty seamen, in spite of opposition. At landing the sailors threw all the flour into the sea, burned the mill, the only one they have, and returned on board without the loss of a man. The French sent 1000 men at least against them, and gun-boats, &c. but the shot went over them, and they were just within reach of my guns: it has pleased Lord Hood; but this dreadful gale may have blown it out of his memory.'

On returning to his former station off St. Fiorenzo, Captain Nelson received the following English letter from M. J. de Frediani, governor of the province of Balagne, dated Feb. 3.

'Sir: The night of the 28th or 29th of January, a post-boat from France arrived at Calvi, laden with provisions and letters. She brought one from M. Salicetti, a Commissioner from the Convention, announcing, That fourteen sail were ready to put to sea, viz. ten that were at Toulon, and four that had arrived from Tunis since the recapture of Toulon. With this squadron of fourteen sail, besides eight frigates and four corvettes, Monsieur de Salicetti believes he shall be able the first opportunity to undertake with safety the conveyance of 12,000 troops, and the landing them at Corsica. After the arrival of this news at Calvi, they ordered a *feu de joie*, and illuminations, to drive away the melancholy that seemed to prevail amongst the people at the sight of the English fleet. The two frigates likewise prepared to sail, one of which went out, but soon returned without assigning any reason. The moment the last was ready, two gun-boats proceeded with forty men each for St. Fiorenzo; and, as is supposed, to prevent the carrying on the works that are forming by English engineers and General Paoli against the forts at that place. It is likewise imagined that those gun-boats went to consult with the frigates at St. Fiorenzo, respecting their departure. I am, with sincere respect, &c. J. de Frediani.'

On the 3d of February Captain Wolseley, of the Lowestoffe, hoisted his colours close off the fort of Centuri, when all the vessels in the harbour immediately hoisted national colours: on the 5th, Captain Nelson ordered him to land his marines, with those of the Romulus, and take the vessels. Opposition was made, and one man was wounded belong-

ing to the latter ship. Several of the enemy were killed, and four vessels laden with wine were burnt.

The troops, under the command of Lieutenant General Dundas, had been disembarked from the squadron of ships and transports commanded by Commodore Linzee, in a bay in the gulf of St. Fiorenzo, to the westward of Martello point. On the 8th of February, Captain Nelson, who was detached, sent the following letters to Lord Hood. 'My Lord: Yesterday at Porto Nuovo they hoisted national colours as I passed, as also the vessels in the harbour. I went to l'Avisina, but there was no ship there. Captain Freemantle tells me, a ship under Ragusan colours is in Bastia. This morning being very fine, I anchored off Rogliani, and sent on shore to say, That I was come to deliver them from the republicans, and wished to be received as a friend: but that if a musket was fired, I would burn the town. The answer from the commandant was as follows:

"We are republicans; that word alone ought to satisfy you. It is not to Magginagio, a place without defence, you ought to address yourself. Go to St. Fiorenzo, to Bastia, or Calvi, and they will answer you according to your wishes. As to the troops whom I command, they are ready to shew you, that they are composed of French soldiers."

'Upon receiving this answer I landed, and struck the national colours with my own hand on the top of an old castle, and ordered the tree of liberty in the centre of the town to be cut down, not without great displeasure from the inhabitants. The military commandant retired to a hill about two miles distant, where he paraded the troops, and kept the national flag flying all day. We destroyed about 500 tons of wine ready to be shipped, and ten sail of vessels.'

'Agamemnon, off Cabrera, Feb. 13. My Lord: In addition to the paper[d] I enclose for your Lordship's information, I have to acquaint you, that on Sunday the 9th I anchored at Cabrera,[e] to see if any of the enemy's privateers were lying in that port. I sent a message on shore to the governor to say, that the trade in these seas had been very much annoyed by the enemy's privateers, which harboured in Cabrera, and that if any other vessels were there belonging to the French, I should take them. The answer sent me was, That he had orders to admit of no search whatever in Cabrera, and that if I attempted it, he should repel me to the utmost of his power. My next message to him was, That I wished to be friendly, but unless he would give his word of honour that there were no vessels in the port under French republican colours, I would search them. The governor upon this gave his word of honour, and I did not think it right to proceed further. This is a new governor,

[d] The principal contents of this communication are inserted in the above letter.

[e] There are several islands of this name in the Mediterranean, but the one here mentioned is generally distinguished by the name of *Capraja*, and lies about E. N. E. from Cape Corse, the northern point of Corsica, and was afterwards taken possession of by us.

the former one being turned out for allowing the Romulus and Meleager to take two vessels out of the port: every person in the island was under arms to oppose us. There are now lying in the port fifteen sail of vessels; their cargoes of flour were landed whilst we were there, several of them are under Corsican colours, which the French make all the Corsican boats carry, by which means they get free admission into Leghorn, and land corn; all the Genoese vessels are I understand also from Leghorn. I send you a pass very improperly granted by the Sardinian consul. Yesterday morning three sail of boats under Corsican colours got into Cabrera: whenever we take them they are Paoli's friends, when they get away, they are against him. I had occasion yesterday to send my barge to the gun boat at the farther end of the island, passing a small cove, where a boat was lying, she was fired on, and one of the men severely wounded. This was too much for me to suffer. I took the boats, troops, and Fox cutter, and went to the cove. A number of people were posted behind the rocks, where we could not land, who fired on us: it was a point of honour to take her; so after attempting in vain to dislodge the people, I boarded the boat, and brought her out, I am sorry to say with the loss of six men wounded. She was a French courier boat from Bastia to Antibes; an officer with a national cockade in his hat was killed, with several people. I don't think the Genoese troops came to assist them, at least none of their uniform was seen. I am, with great respect, &c.'

The next day, Feb. 14th, Captain Nelson sent the following honourable attestation of the professional character of Mr. Hoste,[f] to his father, the Rev. Dixon Hoste. 'You cannot, my dear Sir, receive more pleasure in reading this letter, than I have in writing it, to say, that your Son is every thing which his dearest friends can wish him to be; and is a strong proof, that the greatest gallantry may lie under the most gentle behaviour. Two days ago it was necessary to take a small vessel from a number of people who had got on shore to prevent us; she was carried in high style, and your good Son was by my side; we had six men badly wounded.'

Whilst the indefatigable Captain of the Agamemnon was thus actively employed on the other side of the promontory of Cape Corse, in preventing succours from going into Bastia, Erbalonga, or any of the villages to the northward of the capital; the invasion of the island, in the bay of St. Fiorenzo, had commenced with much spirit by our troops under Lieutenant General Dundas, assisted with the great exertions of the seamen; who by dragging guns up the almost perpendicular precipices, had gained possession of the heights above the tower of Martello.

On the 8th of February, General Dundas and Commodore Linzee having been of opi-

[f] The uniform manner in which the present Captain of the Amphion is mentioned, is particularly marked. He received the Amphion from Lord Nelson only eight days before the battle of Trafalgar. Mr. Hoste remained with his early patron from 1793 to 1797, and was then placed by him under the care of Captain Miller.

nion that it would be advisable to attack this tower in the first instance from the bay, the Fortitude, Captain William Young, and the Juno, Captain Samuel Hood, were ordered to make the attempt; but after a cannonade of two hours and a half, during which the former ship was very much damaged by red hot shot, both hauled off. The walls of the tower were of a prodigious thickness; and the parapet, where there was one gun an eighteen pounder commanding the bay, and one six pounder directed to the height, was lined with bass junk five feet from the wall, and filled up with sand; and although it was cannonaded from the height for two days afterwards, within the distance of one hundred and fifty yards, the enemy still held out; at length a few hot shot having set fire to the bass junk, they called for quarter. The number of men found in the tower was only thirty-three, two of whom were mortally wounded. The gallant defence which had been made against a line of battle ship and a frigate, by so few men, with only one gun, excited the [g]surprise both of our naval and military officers.

Previous to the surrender of the Martello tower, Lieutenant Colonel Moore had been detached with some light artillery through a mountainous country that was without roads, to make an attempt on the batteries of Fornelli. On examining their situation, it was deemed expedient to return, and to endeavour to transport some heavy cannon to the heights which overlooked these batteries. This arduous task was accomplished by the officers and seamen of the navy, after a most severe fatigue, during four days; and at eight o'clock in the evening of the 17th of February, after a spirited attack, in which Lieutenant Colonels Moore and Wauchope, and Captain Stewart, particularly distinguished themselves, Fornelli was carried, and the bay and town of St. Fiorenzo were consequently in our possession.

The French having retreated to Bastia, the reduction of that capital was immediately resolved on by Lord Hood, who submitted his plan to General Dundas for his co-operation. The General declined it, as being impracticable and visionary, without a reinforcement of 2000 troops, which he expected from Gibraltar. Lord Hood therefore resolved to reduce Bastia with the naval force that was entrusted to his command.

Captain Nelson, who, as already noticed, had been detached from the fleet, in a letter to his wife, dated at sea, February 13, said, ' I am just going into Leghorn to get water.

[g] It was not only the construction of this tower that rendered it so formidable; it had also the peculiar advantages of the eighteen pounder being mounted upon a high carriage, placed upon a large slide turning upon a pivot, which elevated the piece above the parapet, and described the arch of a circle in any direction; and by that means afforded safe shelter to the two men who were required to work it, and with the assistance of a lever connected to the frame, gave them facility in elevating or lowering the gun with the greatest exactness. This gun carriage, with its slide and lever, was invented by General Dumourier; and as their construction has been of late adopted in this country, some accurate plans are subjoined, taken from drawings on the spot. Although Captain Nelson did not hesitate to attack some other towers of this description in Corsica, yet none of them were so formidable as that of Martello.

Elevation & Plan of Martello Tower Corsica, and a Profile of the Eighteen Pounder mounted on its Carriage & Slide.

References to Fig. 1.

A *Middle Story.*
B *Second Story.*
C *Entering Door.*
D *Powder Room.*
E *Kitchen.*
F *Embrasures where two Guns might be pointed.*
G *Cistern.*
H *Spout for emptying the Cistern.*

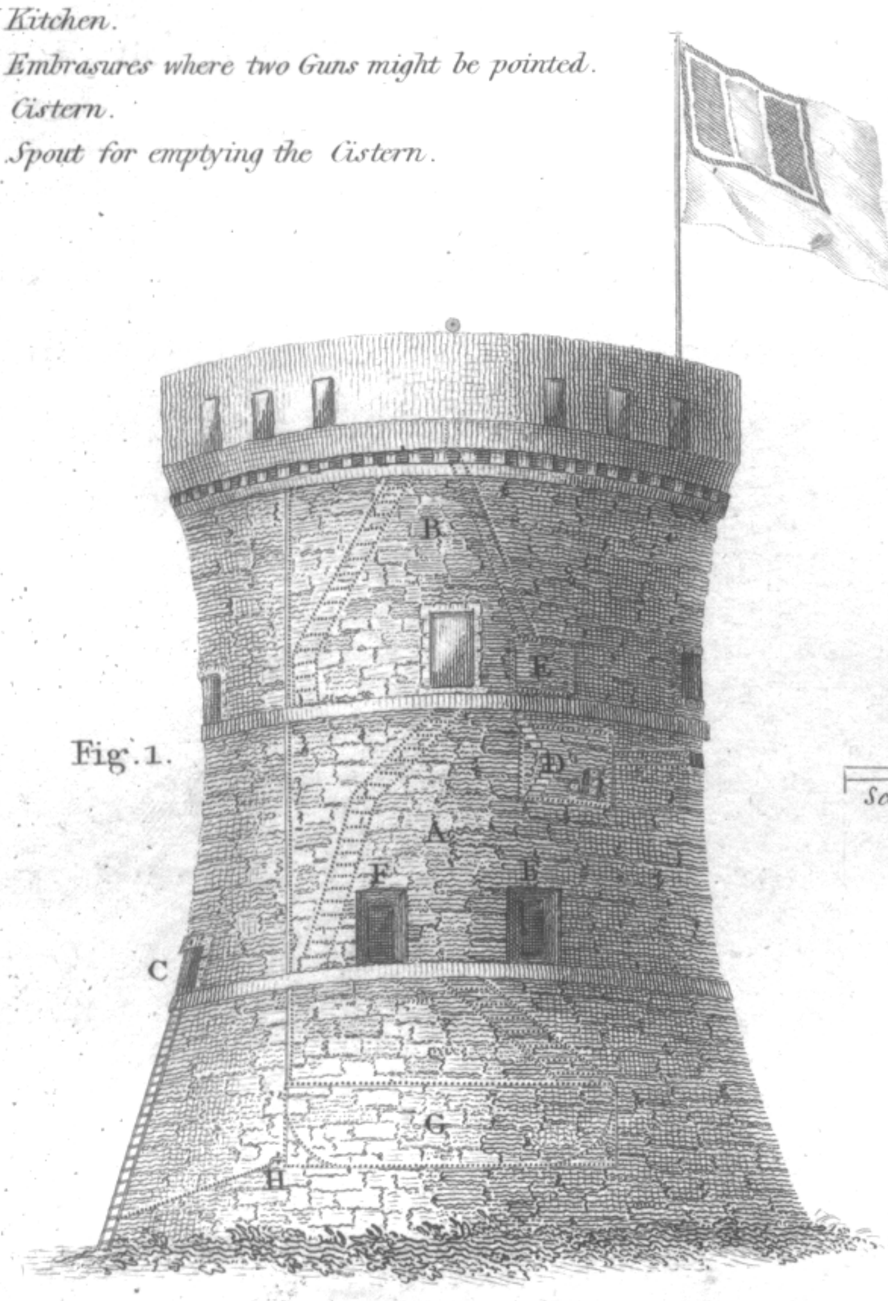


Fig. 1.

Fig: 1.

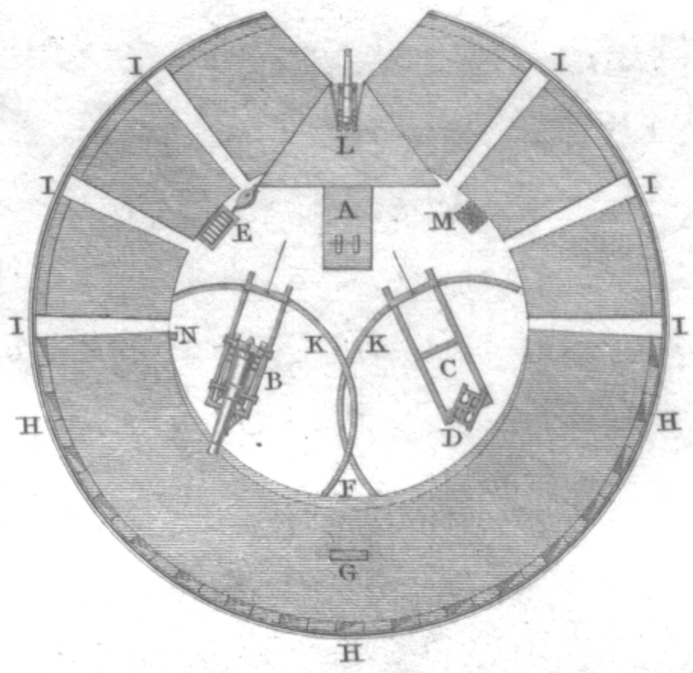
6 12 24

Scale of French Feet.

References to Fig. 2.

A *Stair Case for Communication in the interior of the Tower.*
B *Birdseye view of the Gun upon its Carriage & Slide.*
C *Another Slide in its place, with a representation of the small one.*
D *The small slide.*
E *Furnace with bellows for Hot shot.*
F *Work thrown up to thicken the Parapet.*
G *Chimney.*
H *Loopholes towards the Sea.*
I *Loopholes to guard against Mining & Assault.*
K *Traverse of the Gun.*
L *A six pounder.*
M *A Pile of Shot.*
N *Conduit for the Cistern.*

Fig. 2.

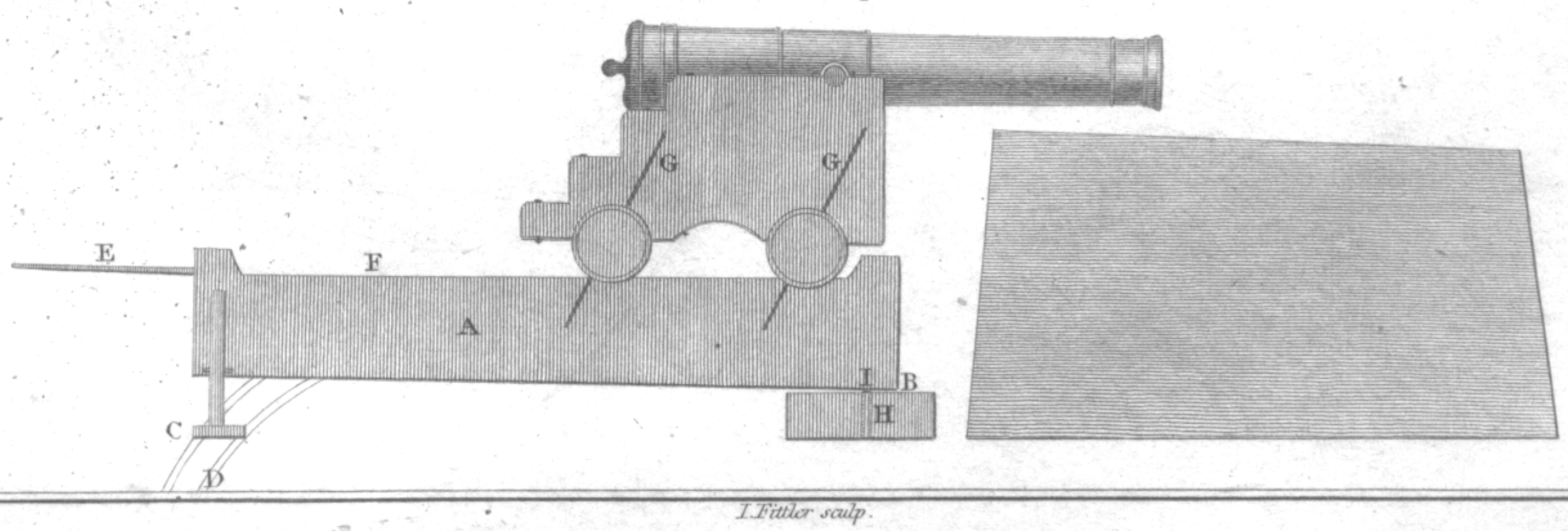


This eighteen Pounder is mounted upon a Carriage of nearly the same dimensions as the Carriage of a 24 Pounder, but somewhat higher, this Carriage has the advantage of being placed upon a large Slide, which elevates the Piece above the Parapet, and thereby affords a safe Shelter to those who work it. the Great Slide A *fixd in one Point* B *turns upon the Pivot* I *and describes with great facility the Arch of a Circle at* C & D *to which the two Iron trucks placed vertically at the extremety of the great Slide chiefly contribute, this Arch is described upon a circular frame erected at* D *the whole by means of the Lever* E *— when the Piece is fired it has little recoil, sometimes to* F, *one or two Men are sufficient to bring it to bear again, by means of the Levers* G. *the small frame* H *in order to make it solid should be fixed in the ground. and fastened with 20 pegs of three feet each and sunk in The advantages therefore derived from this Carriage are, that the Men are very little exposed, and that two are sufficient to work it, the same Carriage will do for a 24 Pounder.*

1 2 3 4 5

Scale of French Feet.

Fig. 3.



I. Fittler sculp.

From Original drawings, taken on the Spot in the posseſsion of I. Mac Arthur Esq.r

Corsica I hope will fall in due time: Commodore Linzee has the command of the sea business, Lord Hood is in the offing. I have had the pleasure to fulfil the service I have been employed upon, since leaving Tunis, neither allowing provisions nor troops to get into Corsica, nor the frigates to come out. I am next going to cruise off Bastia, to prevent succours from getting in there. Corsica is a wonderfully fine island. We are anxious to hear how Parliament likes the war. I am still of opinion it cannot last much longer; not by the French having an absolute monarchy again, but by our leaving them alone; perhaps the wisest method we can follow. You will remember me in the kindest manner to my Father. God bless you.'

On the 19th of February, Captain Nelson landed at l'Avisena, took the tower of Miomo, three miles distant from Bastia, and drove the French within gun-shot of the walls of that city. In his letter to Lord Hood of the same date, he omitted any mention of this exploit, and only said, 'I had a good opportunity of looking at Bastia this morning, its means of defence are as follows: On the town wall next the sea, about twenty embrasures, to the southward of the town two guns are mounted on a work newly thrown up, and an officer's guard encamped there, they are also throwing up a small work commanding a large road to the southward of the town, which leads towards the mountains. I observed at the back of the town four stone works, all with guns; two of them appeared strong, the others are stone guard-houses. In the Mole is la Fleche, 20 guns, which came from Tunis with the other frigates, she is dismantled, and her guns are put on the outworks.

'Yesterday a flag of truce, with a note from General Paoli,[h] came off from a place called Erbalonga, to say they were friends of General Paoli's, and wanted muskets and ammunition. I asked them how long they had been our friends: one of them, who called himself General Paoli's commander of volunteers on Cape Corse, replied, 'Ever since the day you took Magginagio.' They may be good friends, if it is their interest to be so; but I am rather inclined to believe they will always cry, *Long live the conqueror*. However they are active fellows, and may be of great use, if we land near Bastia. I had received information at Leghorn, that the cargo of the Ragusan vessel had been landed at l'Avisena. I therefore went on shore this morning, but unluckily the cargo had been carried to Bastia thirteen days ago: had General Paoli's friends given him this information, we might have made a valuable capture. I carefully examined the landing places near Bastia, and can take upon me to say, that troops and cannon may be landed with great ease to the southward of the town at any distance you please, on a level country. If I may be permitted to judge, it would require 1000 troops, besides seamen, Corsicans, &c. to make any successful attempt against Bastia. The enemy, from all accounts

[h] General Paoli's note, brought by the flag of truce, is subjoined (p. 152).

I could learn, have about four hundred regulars; and altogether 2000 men carrying muskets.' [i]

General Paoli to Captain Nelson, dated Murato, Feb. 17, 1794.

'The Captain of his Britannick Majesty's ship, who may be directed to shew himself off Corse, to support the people in that part of the island who are in arms against the French invaders of their country, is earnestly desired by his humble servant de Paoli to have the goodness to afford some succours of ammunition, and occasionally of arms, and to answer to the signals, according to the directions given by his Excellency Lieutenant General Dundas. With very little assistance properly afforded, that very essential part of the island, which is now in a full state of insurrection, and has repulsed the enemy from the most important villages, may be preserved from the danger of being invaded and ravaged again; and the Captain of his Britannick Majesty's ship will acquire an everlasting title to the thankfulness and gratitude of its inhabitants, and of the whole Corsican nation, and particularly of his most obedient servant, [k] Pasquale de Paoli.'

On the subsequent taking of St. Fiorenzo, Captain Nelson sent the following letter to the Admiral, dated Feb. 22. 'I beg most sincerely to congratulate your Lordship on the taking St. Fiorenzo. We saw plainly, when evening set in on the 19th, the fire at Fiorenzo, and had no doubt but it was the frigates that were burning. We were close to Bastia. On receiving your letter I bore away for the Cape, and am now going to take another look at Bastia, when I shall send this letter.—To the northward of the town and three miles distant, troops may be safely landed, there is a good road for marching all the way to Bastia, but not for heavy artillery; probably landing-places may be found to the northward of it, and much nearer than three miles. I see that the little camp with two guns, en barbette, is intended to prevent any landing to the southward, as I make no doubt their shot would reach to the opening of the lagoon: but our troops may land under cover of gun-boats, and other small vessels, although ships cannot get in. Every defence of Bastia is plainly to be seen from the sea, and in my opinion it would soon fall. Yesterday a very large Swedish ship from the Levant, laden with corn, was within two miles of Bastia, and I believe intended for that port; but if not, the boats would have carried her in, had we not been between her and the town. Saturday evening: I have just had a boat off from Erbalonga, they say that our landing at L'Avisena, and marching so near Bastia, has been of the greatest service to them, as the enemy intended that night to have come with gun-boats and troops, and to have burnt all the revolted villages. All the Corsicans, to the very walls of Bastia, have declared for us, and they tell me not much less than 1000 are now under the outworks of Bastia; and indeed we have seen the firing of musketry the whole evening.

[i] Lord Hood's collection.

[k] Ibid. Many of the letters of General Paoli are written in English, but some are in French and Italian.

'Sunday noon. It is only just now that I have been able to examine Bastia more closely. I find the enemy every hour are strengthening their works. The two guns mounted *en barbette* are now forming a half moon battery. I passed close with Romulus and Tartar, and the enemy opened their fire from the battery. We directly dislodged them, and they to a man quitted the works. The town opened on us also with shot and shells, but without doing us any damage of consequence: our guns were so exceedingly well pointed, that not one shot was fired in vain; a parcel of powder in one of their batteries blew up, and apparently did considerable damage. Indeed, my Lord, I wish the troops were here: Bastia, I am sure, in its present state, would soon fall. I don't think the Corsicans have the strong post General Paoli mentions, or I must have known it. They tell me the garrison of Fiorenzo is got into Bastia.'

In consequence of this information, Lord Hood sailed on the 23d of February, and appeared with part of his fleet off Bastia, whilst another squadron was employed watching some French ships at Toulon; and with his accustomed perseverance the Admiral continued to cruise there for a fortnight, that he might gain every possible intelligence. Finding that General Dundas adhered to his former opinion, Lord Hood demanded, that the remains of the 11th, 25th, 30th, and 69th regiments, under Lieutenant Colonel Villettes, should immediately return on board their respective ships, in which they had been originally ordered by his Majesty to serve as marines, and were consequently borne on the books of those ships as part of their respective complements.

Throughout the 23d Captain Nelson had kept up a brisk cannonade on the fortifications of Bastia, which, as he was the next day informed, did considerable damage, and killed several of their gunners. On the 25th he thus continued the journal, which he daily kept of his procedings, and which possesses an additional interest from being written at the moment. 'Lord Hood with five sail is in sight to leeward. Two Corsican boats came off to beg for some ammunition, and to tell me, that our troops were on the hills. I believe we see them. We afterwards beheld the French attack the Corsicans, and carry a village, which they burnt to the ground. At half past noon, being within range of the town, they fired on us with both shot and shells; we did not however return a single gun: many went over us, and all round us, but not one struck Agamemnon; yet the bursting of one of the shells over us, shook the ship very much. The enemy have begun a new work just to the southward of the town. In the afternoon at four o'clock I bore down, and began to cannonade it for some hours; when it falling calm, I could not perceive we did the enemy much harm, so hauled off. Being within range of the town, they fired on us with both shot and shells; returned the fire, and did good service.'

Captain Nelson joined Lord Hood on the 27th, and on the next day the whole of the fleet, except the Agamemnon, and a frigate, were blown off their station in a gale of wind.

On the 28th, whilst off Bastia, he gave a more particular account of the Siege, in a letter to his wife. ' My dear Fanny: I write literally to say I am well, never better, and in active service, which I like. Lord Hood expresses himself on every occasion well pleased with my conduct. He is come on this side himself, but would not bring an older Captain than me; therefore the naval service at Bastia is intrusted to my direction, under his Lordship. I have now six frigates with me. Our little brush last Sunday, happened at the moment when part of our army made their appearance on the hills over Bastia; they having marched over-land from St. Fiorenzo, which is only twelve miles distant. The General sent an express to Lord Hood at Fiorenzo to tell him of it. What a noble sight it must have been! indeed on board it was the grandest thing I ever saw. If I had carried with me 500 troops, to a certainty I should have stormed the town, and I believe it might have been carried. Armies go so slow, that seamen think they never mean to get forward; but I dare say they act on a surer principle, although we seldom fail. You cannot think how pleased Lord Hood has been with my attack on Sunday last, or rather my repelling of an attack, which the enemy made on me. He is gone to Porto Ferrajo for some supplies, but will return in two days. I am to anchor to have communication with the army. Bastia is a large town and populous, having 10,000 inhabitants; there is a fine mole for shipping. If we take Corsica, of which I have not the smallest doubt, I hope we shall keep it. The natives seem to hate the French, and are a brave people and free. The attachment of the Corsicans to General Paoli is wonderful. When I took Miomo near Bastia, the Corsicans all declared for the English, and a gentleman came down and said, ' I can now venture to say, how attached I am to Paoli:' Upon which, taking a miniature of him from his bosom, he kissed it; and hundreds on their knees immediately begged to do the same. This is pure affection. Paoli has nothing to give them, nor any honours to bestow. It is the tribute of a generous people to a chief who has sacrificed every thing for their benefit. I hope he will live to see the Corsicans truly free. It is a fine island, and well cultivated, but the produce has been kept under by numerous detachments of French soldiers. Their wines interfered with those of France, and in consequence their exportation was almost prohibited. Should it belong to us, it would soon be a rich country; but would materially hurt the Italian powers.'

On the 2d of March, 1794, Lord Hood came again in sight of the Agamemnon on her station off Bastia, and on the 3d, made Captain Nelson's signal to go on board the admiral.—' He acquainted me,' adds the Captain in his journal, ' with the retreat of our troops from the heights, and their return to St. Fiorenzo. What General Dundas could have seen to make a retreat necessary, I cannot comprehend. The enemy's force is 1000 regulars, and 1000 or 1500 irregulars. I wish not to be thought arrogant, or presumptuously sure of my own judgment; but it is my firm opinion, that the Agamemnon, with

only the frigates now here, lying against the town for a few hours, with 500 troops ready to land when we had battered down the sea wall, would to a certainty carry the place. I presumed to propose it to Lord Hood, and his Lordship agreed with me; but added, that he should go to St. Fiorenzo, and hear what the general had to say, for it would not be proper to risk having our ships crippled without a co-operation of the army; which consists of 1600 regulars and 180 artillery men, all in good health, and as fine troops as ever marched.

'We now know from three Ragusan ships, and one Dane, that our cannonade on Sunday threw the whole town of Bastia into the greatest consternation, and almost produced an insurrection; that la Combe St. Michel, the Commissioner from the Convention, was obliged to hide himself, for had he been found and massacred, to a certainty the town would have been surrendered to me. But St. Michel having declared he would blow up the citadel with himself in it, prevented a boat from coming off to us with offers. I also learn, that by our cannonade on Tuesday afternoon, the 25th of February, their camp was so much annoyed, that the French ran for it; and, in the town, they so fully expected I should land, that St. Michel sent orders for la Fleche to be burnt; but it falling calm, I could not lie near enough to the town to do good service. My ship's company behaved most amazingly well; they begin to look upon themselves as invincible, almost invulnerable: I believe they would fight a good battle with any ship of two decks out of France. Lord Hood offered me the Courageux, 74, but I declined it. I shall stay by old Agamemnon.'

On the 4th, and 5th of March, Captain Nelson remained off Bastia, and received an order from Lord Hood to take the Romney, Hon. W. Paget, under his command. On the 4th he sent the following account of what had passed to his wife. 'My dear Fanny: You will be surprised to hear that the English General, Dundas, has retired from before Bastia without making an attack. God knows what it all means. Lord Hood is gone to St. Fiorenzo to the army to get them forward again. A thousand men would to a certainty take Bastia; with five hundred, and Agamemnon, I would attempt it. Lord Hood said publickly, That if he thought it proper to give me three sail of the line, and 500 men, he was sure I should take the town, although probably not the heights; but he would not sacrifice his seamen and ships in doing, what the finest army of its size that ever marched could, and wish to do. General Paoli has told them, that if they don't keep my force low, I shall take Bastia before they pitch their tents in St. Fiorenzo: however these are only civil speeches. But we now know that I was very near getting possession on Sunday the 23d. If I had force to go again and cannonade it, I believe I should yet get it. My seamen are now what British seamen ought to be, to you I may say it, almost invincible; they really mind shot no more than peas.'

The following extract from Lord Hood's letter to Lieutenant General Dundas, dated Victory in Martello Bay, March 6, 1794, illustrates the history of the siege of Bastia: 'I am honoured,' said his Lordship, 'with your letter of yesterday's date, in which you are pleased to say, "after mature consideration, and a personal inspection for several days of all circumstances, local as well as others, I consider the Siege of Bastia, with our present means and force, to be a most visionary and rash attempt, such as no officer could be justified in undertaking." In answer to which, I must take the liberty to observe, That however visionary and rash an attempt to reduce Bastia may be in your opinion, to me it appears very much the reverse, and to be perfectly a right measure; and I beg here to repeat my answer to you, upon your saying two days ago, that I should be of a different opinion to what I had expressed, were the responsibility upon my shoulders, "That nothing would be more gratifying to my feelings, than to have the whole responsibility upon me;" and I am now ready and willing to undertake the reduction of Bastia at my own risk, with the force and means at present here, being strongly impressed with the necessity of it.'

'On the 6th of March,' continues Captain Nelson's journal, 'we remained close off Bastia; the enemy adding strong posts for the defence of that place. At this moment Bastia is stronger than when our troops retired from it: how that has hurt me! Sent an officer overland to Lord Hood, with my opinion, that it was yet possible to take Bastia with 500 regulars, and two or three ships; received a letter from him to say, he would send me two gun-boats, according to my desire. When I get them, the inhabitants of Bastia sleep no more.'

Captain Nelson on the same day sent the Romney to the fleet, and wrote to the Admiral as follows. 'My Lord: The Vanneau has joined, and I have ordered Captain Paget to proceed to St. Fiorenzo. I have just received a letter from Mons. de Frediani to say, that their camp will be lost, unless I can either destroy a battery which the enemy made yesterday on the north of the town, or land two eighteen pounders with men, ammunition, &c. I shall do either one or the other, or both, if possible. Bastia will be lost if we are not active. I trust you will approve of my intentions: I see the necessity of something being done directly.'

On the 9th of March Captain Nelson went on shore to Erbalonga, and thence to the Corsican camp, and had a good view of all the enemy's posts, and the town which was daily increasing its means of defence. On the 10th he got back to his ship, and on the 11th the Romney joined him with letters from Lord Hood, to say, that General Dundas was going home, and that the Admiral hoped and trusted the troops would once more move over the hill. Captain Nelson returned the following answer. 'My Lord: You may be assured I shall undertake nothing, but what I have a moral certainty of succeeding in: had this day been fine, it was my intention to have towed the Agamemnon in shore,

and to have destroyed the house which the enemy has fortified for musquetry, and also the new battery which is nearly finished: I think we should have been out of the range of shot from the town. When the gun-boats arrive, they may perhaps do it better; certainly with less risk than ourselves. It must be destroyed, or the Corsicans will be obliged to give up a post, which the enemy would immediately possess, and of course throw us on that side at a greater distance from Bastia. I hope our troops will soon join. If the Corsicans can without them keep the enemy from quitting their posts, and advancing into the country, what may we not expect when ours act with them? The poor Corsicans know nothing but how to fire a musket; yet certainly a good use may be made of them. Bastia may be easily bombarded from the north side, as also fort St. Croix, which is the post commanding Bastia.'

Captain Nelson's journal describes the hardships which his men had already endured. 'March 12, off Erbalonga, five miles from Bastia. We are absolutely without either water, provisions, or stores of any kind, and not a piece of canvass, rope, twine, or a nail in our ship, but we cheerfully submit to it all, if it turns out for the advantage and credit of our country.'—The Agamemnon got back to her station off Bastia on the 16th of March, and the same day, her Captain, to use his own words, sent an express to Lord Hood, to tell him, That they had nothing to eat. The following is an extract from his letter. 'My Lord: The gale of the 14th came on at east, backing to the N. E. which obliged me to carry a press of sail to clear the shore towards Cape Corse; in so thick a fog as to prevent our seeing a ship's length. I send this over-land, and shall thank your Lordship to signify your wishes by the bearer of my letter. We are really without the common necessaries of life. The ship is so light she cannot hold her side to the wind: yet if your Lordship has any wish for me to remain off Bastia, I can, by going to Porto Ferrajo, get water and stores, and twenty-four hours at Leghorn will give us provisions. Our refitting, which would take some time, could be put off a little. My wish is to be present at the attack of Bastia; and if your Lordship intends me to command the seamen who may be landed, I assure you I shall have the greatest pleasure in performing that, or any other service where you may think I can do most good: even if my ship goes into port to refit, I am ready to remain. We are certainly in a bad plight at present, not a man has slept dry for many months.

From the same to the same.

'Agamemnon, off Bastia, March 18, 1794. My Lord: Lieutenant Duncan of the royal artillery, and Lieutenant de Butts of the royal engineers, arrived on board last night, and this morning early I went on shore with them, and am sure their report will much please you. Bastia to the north is certainly not a place of strength; guns may be landed at scarcely a mile's distance from the spot where the battery will be erected, and I am sure that with ease they can be conveyed into it in twenty-four hours at farthest. I never understood the force in Bastia to be more than eight hundred or a thousand regulars, and twelve or fifteen hundred irregulars, Corsicans: ours are much better than those with the

enemy, whom they do not trust, knowing their wish to desert. With fine weather, if necessary, I am certain we could starve Bastia. I am sure my hearty endeavours shall not be wanting to get it some way or other; for I consider it would be a national disgrace to give it up, without a trial. I am making the best of my way to St. Fiorenzo, when I hope twenty-four hours will fit me for sea: I am truly anxious to get off Bastia again.'

His journal afterwards proceeded as follows. 'March 19th, at eight A. M. got into St. Fiorenzo, and gave Lord Hood my free opinion, that 800 troops, with 400 seamen, would take Bastia. I found all the army against an attack, declaring the impossibility of taking Bastia, even if the whole force were united: so employed myself in getting water, provisions, and stores on board. March 20—25th. The General has absolutely refused to attack Bastia, and, wonderful to tell, has also refused to furnish Lord Hood with a single soldier, cannon, or any stores to assist in the siege. Sailed from St. Fiorenzo with Lieutenant Duncan, and at daylight on the 27th got off Bastia.'

Immediately on his arrival there, the active and zealous Captain of the Agamemnon, who had now acquired the title of Brigadier from the army, prepared to execute the plans which he had arranged with his Admiral. Their first object was to procure some artillery stores, and Captain Paget was accordingly sent on the 27th of March to Naples. 'I am sure,' added Captain Nelson, in the order which he issued, 'it is unnecessary for me to acquaint you, that the taking of Bastia may probably depend on your diligence. I hope that a very short time will be sufficient to embark every thing. If craft are not lent you to bring off the stores, I desire that you will hire what is necessary, and consider that expedition is to us invaluable.'

Captain Nelson to Sir William Hamilton, sent by the Hon. Captain W. Paget, dated off Bastia, March 27, 1794.

'My dear Sir: Lord Hood having determined on attacking Bastia, from the reports of officers in whom his Lordship is pleased to place confidence, contrary to the opinion of General d'Aubant, who has succeeded to the command of the army, he becomes in want of many things which I am rather inclined to believe could have been supplied from the stores at St. Fiorenzo. As to the final issue of taking Bastia I have no doubt, though we have only a small proportion of the troops which were at St. Fiorenzo, consisting of those who were embarked to serve as marines, the General thinking it right not to grant his Lordship a single soldier, and only a few artillery men. The General even insists on the impropriety of attacking Bastia, and that as to its conquest it is impossible. But, my dear Sir, when was a place ever yet taken without an attempt? We must endeavour to deserve success, it is certainly not in our power to command it. Colonel Villettes of the 69th regiment will command the troops. I shall certainly always be happy to pay my respects to you; but if we are successful, I shall feel a greater pleasure in taking you by

the hand at Naples, where my ship has been ordered to be refitted, for, I own, I cannot bear the thoughts of shewing myself in a foreign port, without its being known that the British flag is triumphant. I am just come from Lord Hood at St. Fiorenzo; his zeal and activity for the honour and benefit of his King and Country are not abated. Upwards of seventy, he possesses the mind of forty years of age; and has not a thought separated from honour and glory. May all opposers of such a character have for their accusers their own minds, I am sure that will be sufficient. When, before this, was the time, that 2000 British troops, as good as ever took the field, were not thought equal to attack 800 French troops, allowing them to be in strong works? What would the immortal Wolfe have done, who beat the enemy, though he perished in the attempt? Our irregulars are surely as good as the enemy's, and in numbers we far exceed them. I truly feel sorrow, but I have hope and confidence that all will end well.—I beg leave to introduce Lieutenant Duncan to your notice: he is by character an officer of great merit, and, from the little acquaintance I have with him, seems an amiable young man. His request for artillery stores is absolutely necessary, and I am sure your Excellency's zeal for the service of our dear Country will induce you to press for expedition. I request leave to present my most respectful compliments to Lady Hamilton, as does also my youngster. I assure you and her Ladyship, that I remember with gratitude the kindness of you both to a stranger. To Sir John Acton, being an Englishman, if he remembers such an humble individual as myself, and it is not incompatible with your Excellency's situation, I beg to present my respects.'

The Agamemnon continued to remain close off Bastia from the 27th to the 31st of March, the boats rowing guard off the mole and town every night. Captain Nelson also sent the gun-boats to cannonade the town. On the 29th he received the following letter from M. de Frediani[l] at Erbalonga, which shews the estimation in which the intrepid Brigadier was then held by foreigners. 'Monsieur le Commandant: I arrived at the camp extremely fatigued, and found myself overwhelmed with difficulties; but the arrival of my secretary with the news, that you were to command the squadron, and the seamen who are to be landed, set all right again, and I seemed to have suffered nothing; for I shall now have the comfort of being associated with you and Mr. George[m] in the assault: victory is in consequence certain.—I have this moment received a letter from General Paoli, which announces the arrival here this evening of Admiral Hood, if the wind is favourable, with all the troops that are to be landed on this side of the island: you

[l] General Paoli, in a letter to Lord Hood of the 29th of March, noticed this officer: 'At Erbalonga, at a little distance from the town, there is a body of Corsicans under the command of M. Frediani, formerly deputy of the government, and the commanding officer at Isle Rousse, whose zeal and activity are advantageously known to your Lordship, and who is now intrusted with the same powers and commission at Cape Corse.' The Corsicans assembled in the neighbourhood of Bastia were commanded by General Petriconi.

[m] Lieutenant George Andrews.

therefore may perceive that we shall soon act together. It is the first of my wishes to learn under the auspices of your courage, the art of making war, and subduing our enemies. Rest assured, Monsieur le Commandant, that my chief desire will always be to make known those sentiments of the sincerest esteem, with which I have the honour to be your very humble and most obedient servant, de Frediani.'

Such were the continued exertions, and such the unremitting zeal of Nelson, previous to the Siege of Bastia. We are now to behold him uniting the talents both of a naval and a military officer, and accomplishing under the orders of his noble Admiral, what had been deemed utterly visionary and impracticable.

On [n] April 4th, 1794, at ten A. M. the troops, consisting of artillery and gunners 66, of the eleventh regiment 257, of the twenty-fifth 123, of the thirtieth 146, of the sixty-ninth 261, of the marines 218, and of chasseurs 112, total 1183, and 250 seamen, landed at the tower of Miomo, three miles to the northward of Bastia, under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Villettes, and Captain Horatio Nelson, who had under him Captains Hunt, Sericold, and Bullen. At noon the troops encamped about 2500 yards from the citadel of Bastia, near a high rock. The seamen and carpenters were all night employed in cutting down trees to form an abbatis, and also to clear the ground towards the tower of Torga, whence the access to our camp was by no means difficult. A captain's piquet was always mounted at Torga, with the sentry about a hundred yards in front of it.—From April the 4th, to the 10th, all the seamen were employed in making batteries and roads, and in getting up guns, mortars, platforms, and ammunition; works of great labour for so small a number of men, but which was performed with an activity and zeal seldom exceeded. On the 9th, about eleven o'clock at night, the enemy opened a very heavy fire upon our camp, from their mortars and guns. The alarm was beat, and Captain Nelson fully expected an attack. This firing lasted until daylight, and yet, what was extraordinary, not a single man was hurt. The tents were much damaged; but from the troops being under arms they escaped.

Lord Hood sent in a flag of truce on the 11th at seven o'clock in the morning, in one of the Victory's boats. The officer[o] on his landing was grossly abused, until the arrival of La Combe St. Michel, the Commissioner from the Convention, when the mob became quiet. Having offered his letters to St. Michel, our officer was informed by the Commissioner, That he could not receive Lord Hood's summons: *I have hot shot*, he exclaimed, *for your ships, and bayonets for your troops. When two thirds of our troops are killed, I will then trust to the generosity of the English.* 'On the officer's return with this message,' adds Captain Nelson,

[n] The following occurrences in the siege of Bastia are chiefly taken from Captain Nelson's journal, in the possession of the Viscountess Nelson.

[o] Lieutenant Tupper of the Victory, who was afterwards killed, was the bearer of this summons.

'Lord Hood hoisted a red flag at the main top gallant mast head of the Victory; when our batteries opened on the town, citadel, and redoubt of Camponella, English colours having been hoisted on the rock over my tent, and every man giving three cheers. In our batteries were two thirteen and two ten inch mortars, one eight inch howitzer, five twenty-four pounders, two eighteen pounders, carronades, three twelve pounders, one four pounder field piece, distant from the redoubt of Camponella eight hundred yards, from the town battery eighteen hundred yards, and from the centre of the citadel two thousand three hundred yards. The enemy returned a heavy fire during the whole day. The Proselyte frigate anchored off the tower of Torga, about twelve hundred yards from the town battery: Captain Serocold informed me that she took fire from red hot shot, and that as he found the impossibility of getting the ship off the shore, he thought it right to set her on fire in several places, and she burnt to the water's edge.

'April 12th. A heavy fire was kept up by us during the whole of last night, and this day, apparently with good effect; the enemy preserving a continued fire upon us. In the afternoon I went with Colonel Villettes, Lieutenant Duncan, R. A. and Captain Clarke, brigade major, with a Corsican guide, to examine a ridge about one thousand yards nearer the town than our present position, and on which the Corsicans kept a strong guard every night. The enemy's continued fire of musketry and grape was poured on us during the whole evening: unfortunately the last shot they fired from Camponella killed the Corsican guide, who was standing behind Clarke, and shot off his right arm and a part of his right side: Clarke was looking over my shoulder at Camponella, whence we were distant about two hundred and fifty yards.

'We began on the 13th of April a battery for three twenty-four pounders close to the Torga tower, which stands on the sea side, twelve hundred and thirty yards from the town battery, and sixteen hundred from the citadel; and, a little in the rear, a battery for two twenty-four pounders, a mortar battery for one fourteen inch Neapolitan mortar, and for the two ten inch mortars which are to be removed from the upper battery. We were employed in getting up the guns, mortars, shells, shot, powder, and platforms, and in making the batteries, until the 21st, as also a breast-work to cover a hundred men in case of an attack.'—In his letters to Mrs. Nelson of the 6th and 16th of April, he added, 'We are in high health and spirits besieging Bastia; the final event I feel assured will be conquest. Lord Hood is at anchor near the town, and our troops are active. Our batteries opened on the 11th, and apparently have done great execution. Time, I hope, indeed have no doubt, will crown our zealous endeavours with success. We are but few, but of the right sort; our General at St. Fiorenzo not giving us one of the five regiments he has there lying idle.'

'The Torga battery,' continues the journal, 'opened on the 21st of April at day-light on the town battery and Camponella, and apparently with good effect. The enemy kept up a most heavy fire on us the whole day, with shells and shot, from the citadel, town, Stafforella, Camponella, a square tower, and the two batteries newly raised under Stafforella. Brigadier General D'Aubant came on the heights from St. Fiorenzo, with all the staff and field officers of that army, and a guard of fifty Corsicans. The next day, the 22d of April, the enemy were hard at work on the heights, strengthening all their posts; the natural consequence of the parade of reconnoitering yesterday. A constant firing is kept up night and day. We are informed by several deserters, that our batteries have done great damage, and killed and wounded many of the enemy. Our guns have twice totally demolished the town battery, and very much damaged Camponella, but from our not having a sufficient number of men to take advantage of this, the enemy are enabled to repair them, and indeed make them stronger than ever. During this, and the succeeding night, our Corsicans made two false attacks on the upper posts, and those to the southward, which must have harassed the enemy considerably. On the night of the 25th, la Combe St. Michel quitted the town, and embarked in a felucca for Cabrera, and got in, although chased by the lugger; with him also went M. Rochon, the commander in chief of the troops, and some of our deserters.'

On the 22d of April he sent the following letter to Mrs. Nelson. 'I have great reason, my dearest Fanny, to be thankful to that Being, who has ever protected me in a most wonderful manner, and in none more than since my landing here. If it is His good pleasure, I shall in nothing more rejoice, than in being once more with you; when we will talk over all these stories, and laugh at them. We are here with a force not equal to our wishes or wants, and with only half of what is at present in this island. General D'Aubant will not attack our enemy with 2000 as fine troops as ever marched, whilst we are here beating them from post to post with 1000. . . . . The Island, however, is to belong to England, reinforcements are expected; and our Generals will, I am sure, be ordered to act. My ship lies on the north side of the town, with some frigates, and Lord Hood is on the south side. It is very hard service for my poor seamen, dragging guns up such heights as are scarcely credible. The loss of the enemy, we know, has been very great; report states it as much as 500 killed and wounded, ours is not more than 20; the Agamemnon has to number five amongst them: they are not the men to keep out of the way.'

Captain Nelson to Admiral Lord Hood, dated April 24.

'My Lord: During the whole of yesterday, no accident happened to any person here; and although I have no doubt, but even remaining in our present situation, and by strict guard rowing close to the town, and the Corsicans harassing them on the hills, and the

gun-boats by night, that the enemy must surrender before any great length of time; yet if force can be spared, a successful attack on the heights would much facilitate a speedy capture. I own it would give me the highest pleasure to assist in the attack.'

'Camp, April 25th. I am happy that my ideas of the situation I am in here, so perfectly agree with your Lordship's. Captain Hunt is most decidedly a good young man, nor is any one more zealous for the service. Your kind intentions to Captain Hunt shall be promoted by every means in my power. The conduct of Brigadier General D'Aubant is most extraordinary, nothing appears sufficient to atone for such an expression, as, 'That he will not entangle himself in any co-operation.'—I am sorry to see and hear that Gardiola is so strengthened, the works now making on it being, according to Lieutenant Duncan, eighteen feet thick; in short, it is now much more difficult to take Gardiola than it would have been to have taken the Citadel immediately after the surrender of St. Fiorenzo. Colonel Villettes will write to your Lordship on this subject, and in case of another refusal from St. Fiorenzo, what other steps may be proper to be taken. No accident happened yesterday.'

'Camp, April 26th. The enemy are still hard at work on the heights, and have put the battery at the north end of the town in a tolerable state of defence. Colonel Villettes and myself agree with your Lordship, that firing many shot at it is almost useless, unless we had a force to get nearer; they reserve their ammunition, we will do the same until more troops arrive, which I fear will not come from St. Fiorenzo. I am just going with Mr. Duncan to look for a road, and to mark out a battery on the ridge above Camponella, where it is intended to mount the two eighteen pounders, it will much annoy the communication between the town and that place. I lost one of my best seamen when repairing the lower battery in the night, by a shot from it. We are now removing an English twenty-four pounder from the upper to the lower battery, to knock down Camponella if possible.'

'On the 27th of April,' continues the journal, 'we began the battery on the ridge for two eighteen pound carronades, and one twelve pounder on the spot where Captain Clarke was wounded;[p] two hundred and fifty yards from Camponella, nine hundred yards from the citadel, seven hundred yards from the town. The labour of getting up guns to this battery was a work of the greatest difficulty, and which never, in my opinion, would have been accomplished by any other than British seamen. On the 1st of May the new battery opened. The 11th regiment and chasseurs were removed to the ridge for the protection

[p] Colonel Villettes, in his letter to Lord Hood, dated Camp near Pietra Nera, 13th April, said, 'Exclusive of the concern which must arise from private esteem and regard, I lament most sincerely the loss of Captain Clarke's services on the present occasion. I had appointed him to act as Brigade Major since our coming here, and experienced the most real advantage from his assistance.'

of the battery, and the post was strengthened with an additional number of Corsicans. Forty-five seamen under Lieutenant Andrews were also appointed to fight the battery.'

The following letter to his wife, dated May 1st and 4th, renders us still better acquainted with the tenderness of Nelson's private character. ' My dear Fanny: I need not, I am certain, say, that all my joy is placed in you, I have none separated from you, you are present to my imagination be where I will. I am convinced you feel interested in every action of my life; and my exultation in victory is twofold, knowing that you partake of it. Only recollect that a brave man dies but once, a coward all his life long. We cannot escape death, and should it happen to me in this place, remember, It is the will of Him, in whose hands are the issues of life and death.—As to my health, it was never better, seldom so well. I have no fears about the final issue of the expedition—It will be victory, Bastia will be ours! and if so, it must prove an event, to which the history of England can hardly boast an equal. Time will show the enemy's force: if it is small, the Fiorenzo commanders ought to be blamed: if it is large, they are highly culpable, for allowing a handful of brave men to be on service unsupported. My only fears are, that these soldiers will advance when Bastia is about to surrender, and deprive us of part of our glory. The King, we trust, will draw the line of our deserts.

' Bastia is a beautiful place, and the environs delightful, with the most romantic views I ever beheld. This Island is to belong to England, to be governed by its own laws as Ireland, and a Viceroy placed here, with free ports. Italy and Spain are jealous of our obtaining possession: It will command the Mediterranean.—I shall most probably be in England in August: if Lord Hood has a proper opportunity of sending me, I shall ask him, and am sure he will not deny me any thing in reason. You may have heard rumours of the loss of the Ardent:[q] she was commanded by the bishop of Norwich's brother, a gallant good officer: Lord Hood has just sent me word, that he fears there are no hopes of her being safe. I will tell you as a secret, Bastia will be ours between the 20th and 24th of this month, if succours do not get in. Our ships are moored across the harbour's mouth, and three boats from each ship row guard every night. Our loss has been very trifling, the enemy's very great. Only think of a beautiful town being bombarded and cannonaded for a month—what knocks it has had! We have many deserters, who paint the horrid situation the inhabitants are in: but they have behaved so ill to the Corsicans, that they are afraid to surrender. Josiah is very well; I have not seen him these ten days, but have written to invite him and Hoste to dinner: that lad is a charming good boy. You will write to my Father that I am well.—P. S. If you write to Miss Walpole, I desire you will remember me to all that good family.'

[q] Captain R. M. Sutton, brother to the present Archbishop of Canterbury, was lost off the coast of Genoa; his ship was probably burnt.

In writing to the Rev. Dixon Hoste, on the 3d of May, Captain Nelson thus cheered the heart of an affectionate parent, and bore farther testimony to the merit of one of his favourite officers. 'Your good son, my dear Sir, had long ago received your letter relative to the melancholy event in your family, as I brought it from the Victory to him; and I am sure he has repeatedly written, because he has told me so. The little brushes we have lately had with the enemy, only serve to convince me of the truth of what I have already said respecting him; and, in his navigation, you will find him equally forward. He highly deserves every thing I can do to make him happy. Do not, I beg, spoil him by giving him too much money—I love him: therefore shall say no more on that subject.

'The army here is commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Villettes, a most excellent officer, and I have the pleasure of giving my assistance. We now hear that General d'Aubant will take the field, whenever the reinforcements arrive from England. I am almost afraid to say, what I think such conduct merits. The King cannot approve of it. Success, I trust, indeed have little doubt, will crown our zealous and well meant endeavours; if not, our Country will, I believe, sooner forgive an officer for attacking his enemy, than for omitting to do it. The Agamemnon is moored off our camp: your dear boy wished much to come ashore with me, and if I had not thought the danger was too great, I should have brought him. The zeal of our soldiers and seamen is, I believe, almost unexampled; there is not one but considers himself as personally interested in the event, and deserted by the General. It has, I am persuaded, made them equal to double their numbers.—Bastia is a large town walled in, with a battery to the north and south sides. A citadel, in the centre of it, is defended by thirty pieces of cannon, and eight mortars: four stone redoubts are on the nearest hills, and three other posts are above them. The town contains about 12,000 inhabitants, some say 14,000.'

'On the 3d of May,' adds the journal, 'we began a battery for one twenty-four pounder and a ten inch howitzer, which was finished by the 7th at night. The enemy from the first of this month had shewn several dispositions, as if they meant to attack this post: but from some cause they never advanced. Five four-pound field pieces, with good abbatis, would in my opinion, if the post had been well defended, prevented their making any impression on it. The seamen always slept on the battery with their pikes and cutlasses. Lord Hood on the 8th sent in another flag of truce at eight o'clock, which was refused; the mayor telling the officer, *that they would return bomb for bomb, and shot for shot.* Opened the twenty-four pounder and howitzer with the greatest good effect; nor could all the efforts of the enemy knock down our works. A continued and increasing fire was kept up on the town and outworks. In the night of the 12th a large boat came out of Bastia; she was closely pursued by our guard-boats, and taken: in her were three deserters, the captain of la Fortunée frigate, twelve seamen, eight Corsicans, and thirty wounded sol-

diers, going to Capraja. Her dispatches were thrown overboard; but in the morning of the 13th at day light, Lieutenant Suckling of the St. Croix schooner saw the packet floating on the water, which he took up, and brought to me: probably in the hurry of throwing them overboard, the weight that had been tied to them had slipped out of the string; they were all letters from Gentili, the commander in chief at Bastia, saying how much they had been annoyed by our fire, which had been opened on them near forty days, and that if succours did not arrive by the 29th of the month, they must look upon the town as lost to the republic. These letters were addressed to Salicetti, la Combe St. Michel, and Santelli. Lord Hood sent in the boat with her crew and wounded men, with a week's provisions; and we this day got a nine pounder on the ridge.—On the 14th of May, the enemy displayed a picture on Camponella the whole day; they did not treat it with insult, and I think it was intended for Lord Hood.[r] Our batteries kept up an incessant fire. During the night of the 15th, our guard-boats took a boat from Capraja with gunpowder on board, bound to Bastia, Galeazzini the mayor's brother was in her; no dispatches could be found. The enemy were employed preparing Gardiola for a mortar. On the 16th they got up a thirteen inch mortar, which kept up a constant fire throughout the night. It blowing strong from the northward, three boats attempted to get into the town with powder and provisions; two were taken, but one got in. From this day, until the 19th, the enemy fired more than usual both night and day. We had also often five shells in the air at once, all going to Bastia.

'On the 19th of May, some means had been taken to convey a message to Lord Hood, That if he would condescend to send a boat with a flag, a negotiation would be entered into for the surrender of the town and its dependencies. In consequence, at four o'clock that evening, May 19th, a flag of truce was hoisted on board the Victory, and a boat went from her to the town, and one from the town to the Victory. The enemy from Camponella met us without arms, and our officers advancing, they shook hands, and were good friends: They said it was all over, and that Bastia was ours. So many interests, however, were to be consulted, that it was the 22d in the evening before our troops could take possession of the out-posts.—At five o'clock on the evening of the 19th, our troops from St. Fiorenzo made their first appearance on the hills; and on the 20th, General d'Aubant and the whole Fiorenzo army, consisting of the 18th, 50th, and 51st regiments, 12th regiment of dragoons, with 100 artillery, came on the hills to take Bastia.'

The circumstance of a message having by some means been conveyed to Lord Hood on the 19th, as above mentioned in the journal, was occasioned by one of those incidental events, which have often so much influence on the transactions of men, and are too fre-

[r] By way of compliment for having returned the boat with the wounded men and provisions.

quently concealed from the historian. It therefore requires some further explanation:—The motives and imperious necessity on the part of the enemy, which gave rise to the negociation, were at the time unknown to Captain Nelson. It has been just mentioned in his journal, that, on the night of the 15th of May, a boat was taken from Capraja laden with gunpowder, bound to Bastia, having on board Galeazzini the mayor's brother. This prisoner was treated with great attention and kindness by the officers of the Victory; and a singular opportunity occurred, then little known, which accelerated by some days the surrender of Bastia, and prevented the effusion of blood by an assault, that was intended on the arrival of the St. Fiorenzo army. Galeazzini, in a private conversation which he held with Lord Hood's Secretary,* on the afternoon of the 18th of May, had expressed his alarm at the deplorable situation in which his brother the mayor, his sisters, and family, would be placed, in the event of storming the town, and allowing Corsican troops to enter, and plunder the inhabitants. The Secretary replied, that Lord Hood could not possibly prevent the consequences so justly dreaded, but that M. Galeazzini might be convinced of the justice of his apprehensions, and of what was seriously in contemplation, by sun-set, when he would behold the advanced body of the army from St. Fiorenzo take a position on the heights; and that probably by sun-rise the next morning he would see the whole army in motion on the hills, from the Victory's quarter-deck: the Secretary added, that nothing could avert the impending horrors, but a flag of truce with proposals from the town. Galeazzini with much agitation of mind exclaimed, 'Entreat, Sir, the noble Admiral, for the sake of humanity, and in the name of all that is dear to an unfortunate prisoner, to permit a flag of truce to be sent on shore immediately, accompanied by an unsealed letter, in which I will state my situation, and that no succours of gunpowder or provisions can be expected, after the fate of the three boats which were captured on the nights of the 15th and 16th.' The Secretary observed, that a proposal of this nature might be rejected by Lord Hood, after the indignities that had been offered to his former flag of truce, and the insults experienced by the officer who had been the bearer of the summons. After further discussion it was at length settled that the coxswain of Galeazzini's boat, who had a wife and family at Bastia, should be sent after sun-set with an ostensible passport, as if for some linen and other necessaries for himself, and his fellow prisoners who were on board the Victory, and be enjoined to return to the ship by sun-rise the next morning; this proposal was then communicated to Lord Hood, who readily acceded to it. The coxswain was accordingly landed at sun-set about two miles to the southward of Bastia, he was admitted into the garrison that evening, and escorted under a guard to the general's quarters, whence he was conveyed to the mayor's house; and early the next morning, May 19th, he returned,

* From Mr. M'Arthur's minutes of the transactions at Bastia.

and was taken on board the Victory by one of her boats in waiting. The fortunate result has been already, and will be still further noticed.

On the 20th, the day after the coxswain returned, Captain Nelson wrote to his wife from the camp as follows. 'I have the pleasure to tell you that yesterday afternoon, the 19th, the enemy sent off a flag of truce to Lord Hood. The truce still continues, and I hope there will be a surrender of the town in consequence. Our Fiorenzo army, hearing what was going on here, have marched to the tops of the heights, which will probably terrify the enemy. I always was of opinion, have ever acted up to it, and never have had any reason to repent it, that one Englishman was equal to three Frenchmen; had this been an English town, I am sure it would not have been taken by them. They have allowed us to batter it, without once making any effort to drive us away. I may say truly, that this has been a naval expedition; our boats prevented any thing from getting in by sea, and our sailors hauling up great guns, and then fighting them on shore. We expect to take 1000 regulars, 1500 national guards, and a large party of Corsican troops, 4000 in the whole; these will lay down their arms to 1000 soldiers and marines and 200 seamen. There is some difficulty about the terms, and hostilities may recommence for a day or two longer; but they must submit. Josiah has been with me at the head of the British grenadiers, taking possession of the forts and posts. When I reflect what we have achieved, I am all astonishment: Providence has ever been gracious to me, and has been my protector from the many perils incident to my situation.'

'On the 22d of May,' continues the journal, 'our troops at six in the evening marched from their posts, the band playing *God save the King*. At seven the French colours were struck upon Camponella, Stafforella, Croix de Capuchin, Monseratto Rock, Fort St. Mary's, and all the other out-posts, and the British colours were hoisted under three cheers from every seaman and soldier. The French troops all retired to the town and citadel.'

The following thanks[1] were issued on the 22d, by Lord Hood, and sent to Captain Nelson: 'The Commander in Chief returns his best thanks to Captain Nelson, and desires he will present them to Captain Hunt, Captain Serocold, and Captain Bullen, as well as to every officer and seaman employed in the reduction of Bastia, for the indefatigable zeal and exertion they have so cheerfully manifested, in the discharge of the very laborious duties committed to them, notwithstanding the various difficulties and disadvantages they have had to struggle with; which could not have been surmounted, but by the uncommon

[1] Lord Hood also in his letter to the Admiralty, May 24, which has been published, together with his thanks to Captain Nelson, mentioned in the highest terms the services of Lieutenant Colonel Villettes, Major Brereton, Vice Admiral Goodall, of the Captains Wolsely, Hallowell, Young, Inglefield, Knight, Hunt, Bullen, and Serocold; of Lieutenants Gore, Hotham, Stiles, Andrews, and Brisbane; of Captain Duncan and Lieutenant Alexander Duncan, royal artillery, Lieutenant Debutts, royal engineers, Major Smith and Ensign Vigoureuse, 25th regiment, and Captain Rudsdale and Lieutenant St. George, of the 11th.

spirit and cordial unanimity, that have been so conspicuously displayed; which must give a stamp of reputation to their characters not to be effaced, and will be remembered with gratitude by the Commander in Chief to the end of his life.'

The remaining events, after the capitulation of Bastia, are thus related by Captain Nelson in his journal. 'May 23d. This morning the British grenadiers took possession of the town gates, and the gate of the citadel; and on the 24th at day-light, the most glorious sight that an Englishman can experience, and which, I believe, none but an Englishman could bring about, was exhibited, Four thousand five hundred men laying down their arms to less than one thousand British soldiers, who were serving as marines! Our loss of men in taking Bastia, containing upwards of 14,000 inhabitants, and which, if fully occupied, would contain 25,000, was smaller than could be expected: Seamen killed, and who died of their wounds, 12, wounded 14. Soldiers killed, and who died of their wounds, 7, wounded 23. Total killed 19, wounded 37. Officers wounded, Captain Rudsdale of the 11th regiment, Captain Clarke of the 69th, and Lieutenant Andrews of the Agamemnon. By the most accurate account we can get of the enemy's killed and wounded, they had, killed 203, wounded 540, most of whom are dead. We consumed 1058 barrels of powder, and fired 11,923 shot, and 7373 shells.'

His joy at this event was accompanied by a desire to serve a brave soldier. 'My dear Lord: With the most heartfelt satisfaction do I congratulate you on the great event of this day, accomplished by that solid judgment which no fears of others could warp from that duty and love of our Country which has ever shone so conspicuous. My heart is too full to say all I think, but I must not forget my friend Captain Duncan, who having attained that rank, I understand, for his services at Toulon, will, I trust, have another step through your Lordship's interest: the rank of Major is, as I am informed, not unfrequently given. I need say no more.'

Lord Hood, in his letter to the Admiralty, May 24th, announced the fall of Bastia, and added, 'On the 20th of May I received a note from Gentili, the commandant, and sent Captain Young on shore on the morning of the 21st: he soon returned to the Victory, with two officers, and two members of the administrative bodies, who with Vice-Admiral Goodall, Captain Young, Captain Inglefield, and my Secretary, Mr. M'Arthur, settled the articles of capitulation, which were signed the following morning.'

Captain Nelson on again joining his old ship, wrote to his friend Captain Locker, dated 'Agamemnon, Bastia, May 30. I am just got on board, after eight weeks' service on shore; where I trust I have acquitted myself in a manner my friends will be pleased with. The more we see of this place, the more we are astonished at their giving it up: but the truth is, the different parties were afraid to trust each other, they can be justified on no other

ground.—I have now on board two captains, twenty-four other officers, and three hundred seamen, belonging to the ships we fell in with last October: the officers abuse the crews, the people the officers, and all join against their Commodore for not coming down to us after they were crippled; not that I have any idea they could have taken us, but they certainly behaved shamefully ill. The Fortunée is burnt, the Minerve and la Flechc taken, the Melpomene is at Calvi, and I trust will fall into our hands. We are now taking on board shot, shells, powder, &c. for Calvi, which, although very strongly situated, will, I believe, soon fall; this over, Agamemnon goes to Gibraltar to get some repair, having now been without the slightest thing done to her in hull or rigging, for sixteen months. Bastia is most pleasantly situated. If the Corsicans know their own interest, they will be happy with us; but they cannot bear dependence.'—In a letter to Mrs. Nelson he declared that Lord Hood's thanks to him, both public and private, were the handsomest that man could give.

Lord Hood, on the return of one of the cartel ships that carried the garrison of Bastia to Toulon, during the evening of the 6th of June received information that the French were preparing to sail from that port. He immediately made the signal to unmoor, and sent an officer to Vice-Admiral Cosby at St. Fiorenzo, to join him on his appearing off Martello point. At six the next morning, after the Victory had been some hours under sail, Lord Amelius Beauclerk, Captain of the Juno, came on board with a letter from Vice-Admiral Hotham, who was off Toulon, giving information that the French fleet was out. On the night of the 8th, Lord Hood was joined by Admirals Hotham and Cosby, and made sail with the squadron towards the islands of Hieres, sending a frigate on each bow to look out for the enemy. On the 10th of June the French fleet was discovered close under the land near St. Tropez, by the frigates ahead. Lord Hood with his squadron endeavoured to get between the enemy's ships and the land, which a failure of wind prevented; and he was afterwards mortified to find, that by the help of a number of boats from Antibes, and other places, their ships had been all towed within the shoals in the road of Gourjean, where they were protected by the batteries on the islands of St. Honora and St. Marguerite, and on Cape Garousse. With a spirit that reflected the greatest honour upon him, he then gave out orders to the respective Admirals and Captains, for a new and admirable mode of attack to be made on the enemy at their anchorage, by doubling on five of the nearest; whilst the Sans Cullottes, of 120 guns, bearing the French Admiral's flag, was to be closely cannonaded by the Victory on one side, and a line of battle ship on the other: but on a nearer approach, and the wind dying away, it was found that the French ships had anchored in so compact an order, as to guard the only passage for large ships, which could not be forced, except by towing or warping ours. As the winds never blow home into the road of Gourjean at that season of the year, it was totally impossible

to succeed in the daring enterprise that had been proposed. Captain Nelson afterwards declared, that Lord Hood's plan of doubling on some of the enemy's ships at their anchorage in Gourjean road, was what first suggested to his mind a similar mode in the memorable battle of Aboukir Bay.

The following letter to his wife, when he had sailed with Lord Hood in quest of this French fleet, serves to shew the unabated zeal of Nelson in the service of his country, notwithstanding the toils of a long siege, heightened by an additional impulse, from the idea of his then first having an opportunity of distinguishing himself in a line of battle. 'We are just got to sea after the French fleet, which we hear is out of Toulon; our squadron is after them, steering for Calvi, where I fear they will get, in spite of Admiral Hotham's endeavours. The enemy are nine sail of the line, Admiral Hotham seven; two will join from St. Fiorenzo, and Lord Hood goes with six of us: If we have but the good fortune to catch them at sea, we shall, I am sure, give a good account of them. Lord Hood only got the account last night at eleven o'clock, and by seven this morning we were all under sail. The Agamemnon had two hundred tons of ordnance to get out, and Lord Hood had given me orders to follow him as fast as possible: I was enabled to sail in half an hour after him, and we are now alongside the Victory. I pray God we may meet this fleet. If any accident should happen to me, I am sure my conduct will be such as will entitle you to the royal favour: not that I have the least idea but I shall return to you, and full of honour; if not, the Lord's will be done. My name shall never be a disgrace to those who may belong to me. The little I have, you know I have given to you, except a small annuity. I wish it was more; but I have never got a farthing dishonestly, it descends from clean hands. Whatever fate awaits me, I pray God to bless you, and preserve you for your son's sake. I think always in the most affectionate manner of my Father; tell him so, and ever believe me your most affectionate husband.'

Such were the ideas of Nelson, when on the eve, as he thought, of his first general action with the French fleet: his ardent spirit always entered into the battle with a full conviction of its dangers, but without indulging any of that superstitious foreboding which has shaken the resolution of the bravest seamen. His zeal and enterprise were now called to a new proof at the Siege of Calvi.

During the afternoon of the 10th of June, 1794, the Agamemnon parted from Lord Hood, and steered for Cape Corse. On the 12th, at eight o'clock, Captain Nelson anchored off the town of Bastia, and went on shore to the Hon. Lieutenant General Stuart, when it was settled that all the troops for the expedition against Calvi should be embarked the next morning at six o'clock:—The following is Captain Nelson's Journal of the Siege, with the addition of such letters as were written by him whilst on that service.

'Having ordered every transport and victualler, except the ships in the mole, to be ready to sail with me, and a ship laden with empty casks on the 13th of June; by eight o'clock, every soldier was embarked, amounting to 1450 men, exclusive of officers. At noon made the signal to unmoor, and at four the signal to weigh. Sailed in company with his Majesty's ships Dolphin, Gorgon, and twenty-two sail of vessels. June the 15th, at seven o'clock in the morning, we arrived at Fiorenzo, and anchored in Martello Bay. General Stuart came on board, and expressed himself anxious to go on to the attack of Calvi, if I thought it right to proceed with the shipping, which I certainly did; placing the firmest reliance that we should be perfectly safe under Lord Hood's protection, who would take care that the French fleet at Gourjean should not molest us. I therefore gave the necessary orders, and sailed the next day at half past five in the evening from Martello Bay, with the Dolphin, Lutine, and sixteen sail of transports, victuallers, and storeships. It was ten o'clock at night on the 17th, before any of the ships could get to an anchor on the coast about four miles to the westward of Cape Revalata, the bottom rocky, and very deep water; the Agamemnon lying in fifty-three fathoms, about one mile from the shore, opposite a little inlet called Porto Agro. This coast is so rocky, except in this inlet, that a boat cannot land stores on any other place; and it is with the greatest difficulty that a man can get up the cliffs. June the 18th in the morning, at half past three o'clock, I went on shore with General Stuart to examine the coast, with the hopes of finding a better landing-place; but we both agreed it could only be at the inlet called Porto Agro, though by no means a convenient place for landing guns or stores, as sunken rocks lie twenty feet from the shore, with deep water between them; and with a common sea breeze such a swell sets in, as to prevent boats from landing. This inlet is three miles and a half from the town of Calvi.

'Examined the enemy's outposts, and found them as follows: Monachesco, about 2200 yards from the town, on the S. W. side of it. The Mozello fort, west from the town about 900 yards; and the Fountain battery in a shoulder of the hill, between Mozello and San Francesco; which last stands on a rock on the north side of the peninsula, and is washed by the sea. The town itself is apparently well fortified, but without any ditch.'

Captain Nelson to Lord Hood, dated Agamemnon, near Calvi, June 19, 1794.

'My dear Lord: Believing that what I should do would be of service to our Country, and of course meet with your Lordship's approbation, I have the honour to acquaint you, that yesterday was taken up in looking at the enemy, and this morning at day-light the troops, 1450, were landed, together with 70 volunteers from the transports, 30 men which I took out of the Inflexible, and 100 seamen from the Agamemnon: I was obliged to use every effort to forward this service. The General, after looking at Calvi, wished to have some additional force: I therefore sent the Fox to Fiorenzo, with orders to Captain Wallis

to proceed to Bastia for such troops as General Stuart wished to have. Captain [u]Cooke, whom I found at Fiorenzo, with a zeal which will ever do him credit, wished to accompany me on the present expedition. I not only have the greatest pleasure from his being with us, but his assistance to me has been very considerable; and, as he is anxious to remain, I hope he will be allowed by your Lordship to stay on shore until the siege is over.'

In addition to what is contained in this letter, the journal adds, 'The troops were disembarked at seven o'clock on the morning of the 19th, under the direction of Captain E. Cooke, with six field pieces, which the seamen dragged up the hills. I landed,' says Captain Nelson, 'in the afternoon with 250 seamen, and encamped on the beach, getting on shore baggage for the army. By the General's desire I sent the Fox cutter, with directions for 180 of the Royal Louis, the 18th regiment, and 100 of the 69th regiment, to join as soon as possible. During the whole of the 20th and 21st it blew so strong, with a heavy sea and rain, and with such thunder and lightning, as precluded all intercourse with the shipping, most of which put to sea. The seamen were employed in making roads for their guns, and in getting up three twenty-six pounders to the Madona, about two miles and a half from the landing-place, ready to act against Monachesco; the road for the first three quarters of a mile led up a steep mountain, and the other part was not very easy. The weather became rather moderate in the night, but still with thunder, lightning, and rain.' The following letter to Lord Hood, on the 21st, describes the peculiar difficulties which Nelson had to surmount. 'My Lord: You will know from my letters to Captain Tyler and Captain Wallis, what I thought it right to order, in consequence of General Stuart's finding this place much stronger than he expected. Our landing-place is very bad; the rocks break in this weather very far from the shore, and the mountain we have to drag the guns up is so long and so steep, that the whole of yesterday we were only able to get one gun up; and then we have at least a mile and half to drag them: I hope before long we shall be able to land some to the eastward of Cape Revalate. Your Lordship so well knows our want of seamen here, that I am sure I need not mention it; we shall have more than forty pieces of ordnance to drag over these mountains, and my numbers are 200, barely sufficient to move a twenty-four pounder. Had not the weather been bad, I am sure one battery against Monachesco would have opened to-morrow morning. Twenty-four hours will, I think, put us in possession of it. We seem here determined to act with vigour, and it is the only thing to get us on. The enemy are hard at work making batteries.'

[u] The subsequent death of this excellent officer in the East Indies, who had studied under such a master, was a real loss to the service.

On the same day Lord Hood had written to Captain Nelson, from the Victory in Martello Bay: 'In addition to the men from this ship, already on the expedition, I have sent 50 more under the command of Captain Hallowell, who is accompanied by Captain Serocold; both very able, willing, and zealous officers, from whom you will have much assistance; and they are directed to follow your orders, which I am confident they will both do with great alacrity, and that all will go on with equal cordiality and good humour as at Bastia. I tremble for what may have happened from last night's gale.'

Their tempestuous weather became more moderate on the 22d, when Captain Nelson, though a great deal of surf was running, got off boats to such of the ships as remained, and employed his men in landing provisions, which were much wanted, as also powder, shot, and gun-carriages. During this day a deserter came in from Calvi, and the Fox returned with 180 of the Royal Louis. One twenty-six pounder was dragged up the hill, and during the night they hauled two twenty-six pounders from the Madona to the place intended for the battery against Monachesco, distant 850 yards; a working party of soldiers were at the same time filling sand-bags.

On the 23d the sea became more calm, when two twenty-six pounders, and a great quantity of provisions, shot, shells, and stores, were landed; at night the seamen got up another twenty-six pounder from the Madona, to the battery against Monachesco, and mounted the three guns; and the same evening the Agamemnon and transports, which had put to sea on the 20th and 21st, returned to their anchorage.

In a letter on the 23d to Lord Hood, Captain Nelson informed him, 'That the battery against Monachesco could not be opened, until another battery of four twenty-four pounders was formed to drive off the enemy's fire; and that twelve guns were judged necessary for the first parallel.' The 24th of June proved a fine day; which enabled them to land from the Lutine one twenty-six pounder, from the Agamemnon two twenty-four pounders and two eighteen pounders, and to get to the road the two twenty-four pounders intended for the battery against the Mozelle. Captains Hallowell and Serocold also joined with 50 seamen from the Victory.

Lord Hood to Captain Nelson, dated Victory, June 24th, 1794.

'My dear Nelson: I have by one channel or another received all your letters, and am very glad you have the assistance of Captain Cooke; if he wishes to continue with you until Calvi is reduced, I can have no objection, but it will probably be better for him to go to Admiral Linzee. I think I have given proof that I have not been unmindful of the expedition, by sending Hallowell, Serocold, and others, with 50 seamen to assist in getting up the ordnance; and I shall be happy to give all further aid that is in my power. The General may rest assured that I will not on any account weaken his force, but, on the con-

trary, shall be glad to add to it, as far as is consistent with the other objects of consequence that require my attention. I hope to be off Calvi to-morrow, and nothing can, I think, prevent it, but dispatches I may receive by the Egmont, and St. Croix schooner, which are coming in from Leghorn.'

On the 25th Captain Cooke left Captain Nelson, and on the 26th of June the 18th regiment and flank company of the 69th arrived, and rendered the force before Calvi, exclusive of seamen, 2000 men. 'On the 27th,' continues the journal, 'we got up two ten inch howitzers, and were employed all the day in carrying the heavy guns and carriages about three quarters of a mile forward during a constant rain. Throughout the whole time, a gale of wind cut off all intercourse with the ships. At one o'clock in the afternoon the French came out, and made an attempt to turn both flanks of the Corsicans. A gun-boat also came out to support their rear, and the enemy advanced under cover of a heavy cannonade. Our light corps were under arms to support the Corsicans if necessary, and the seamen got down two field pieces and fired at the gun-boat, which instantly rowed away. The enemy rather forced our Corsicans to fall back, on which,' adds Captain Nelson, 'I went with General Stuart to them; they kept up a smart firing of musquetry, and regained their post. Colonel Sabbatini, their Commandant, was killed, with two or three others, and five or six were wounded. The enemy retired to their works about four o'clock, and I believe have not the smallest idea of our intentions of bringing cannon over the mountains.'

The same day he wrote more fully to his wife, dated Camp, near Calvi. 'My dear Fanny: I sent you a few lines just as we landed, since which nothing particular has occurred. Dragging cannon up steep mountains, and carrying shot and shells, has been our constant employment. Josiah is very well, and I have no fears but he will be a good man. He is affectionate, though warm in his disposition, which nothing can cool so thoroughly as being at sea, where nobody has entirely their own way. Corsica, in respect to prizes, produces nothing but honour, far above the consideration of wealth: not that I despise riches, quite the contrary, yet I would not sacrifice a good name to obtain them. The French here do not know what to make of us. They hear we are landed, yet have not seen us, nor have they any idea about our batteries, which when they open will be heavy on them. That we shall take Calvi in due time I have no manner of doubt. You know probably that George the Third is King of Corsica, chosen by the unanimous consent of the people themselves, the best of all titles; they are now our fellow subjects. The first resolution of the parliament of Corsica was to declare they were Englishmen; they might have been mistaken for Irishmen by their bull. You will hear that Lord Hood fell in with the French fleet on the 10th, but they were too near the shore for him to prevent their getting into port. His Lordship wished to attack them; a council of flag officers prevented him. You may be assured he will either take or destroy them, but I trust not before Calvi is

ours, when I shall immediately join the fleet. Be so good as to write a line to my Father, to say I am well, never better; also to Mrs. Bolton, and that I shall write soon. I expect this will find you at Mr. Matcham's at Ringwood, remember me kindly. God bless you.'—On the next day, June 28th, in answer to some letters he had received, he added, ' Those people who so liberally abuse every body but themselves, are probably the very persons who deserve abuse. I hope those who are to get so much money will make a proper use of it: had I attended less than I have done to the service of my Country, I might have made some too; however I trust my name will stand on record, when the money makers will be forgot.'

The same day Lord Hood sent the following information respecting the report of a second division of the French fleet, which had occasioned a great alarm in the Mediterranean. ' My dear Nelson: I long to hear how you are going on, and whether I can give you assistance. All the states of Italy, as well as the King of Sardinia, and the Archduke of Austria, are under dreadful alarms from a second division, consisting of seven sail of the line, said to be ready at Toulon, which I give no credit to. I expect the Dido every hour from Admiral Hotham; would you have her sent to you? Very faithfully yours.' On receiving this letter he went on board the Victory, and although the boats were with difficulty enabled to get off, he landed four eighteen pounders from the Camilla transport. On the 29th, he shifted the seamen's camp to the top of the hill, and having landed two twenty-six pounders from the Lutine, got them up to a hill on the left of the Madona, 1500 yards west of the Mozelle and 1000 yards N.W. of Monachesco, to what was called Hill Battery. He also on this day received a short note, written in pencil, from General Stuart, requesting that no vessel laden with brandy or wine should be allowed to enter the roads. On the 30th Captain Nelson informed Lord Hood, that the General had agreed in the necessity of landing two twelve pounders on the point near Cape Revalate, where a battery was constructed, and a midshipman with twelve men had been stationed there, but that the General could not afford men to encamp there for its defence. The battery against Monachesco was to be opened on the 2d of July, as it had been found that they could not carry on their battery against the Mozelle, until that post was damaged; the distance from this battery to the landing-place was three miles.—To this letter Lord Hood returned the following answer. ' My dear Nelson: I am free to own I have no apprehension of any second division of ships from Toulon; but am aware there is a fixed determination in the Convention, that if Lord Howe does not get hold of the French fleet from Brest, a considerable part of it is, I am persuaded, to come into these seas; a contingency which it is very necessary for me to be somewhat guarded against, and which occasions my letter to General Stuart, of which I send you a copy. I endeavour to keep the old adage in remembrance, That prevention is better than cure. I will manage to have men

to fight the guns upon Cape Revalate, if you wish it, and in addition suppose I send the Royal Louis to encamp there? Ever faithfully yours.'

On the 1st of July, according to Lord Hood's desire, Captain Nelson went again on board the Victory, and having landed inside Cape Revalate, was all night employed in moving the guns, mortars, and howitzers, to within 450 yards of the intended battery. On the 2d, he made two trips to the landing-place for stores, at night got two mortars to their battery, and was engaged in carrying platforms, &c. until two in the morning. In his letter on that day to Lord Hood, he said, 'Through the ignorance and laziness of people in the different departments, the General is kept back much longer than he wished: our advanced battery, I am sure, will not be made this night, much to his displeasure: all our guns are within 300 yards of the intended works against the Mozelle.' The journal then proceeds: 'July 3, the seamen were employed for six hours in bringing up stores from the landing-place, and at night carrying casks, sand-bags, and platforms, towards the intended battery. The French cannoneers and Royal Louis made the three gun battery against Monachesco, which they are to have the fighting of.—July 4, the Royal Louis battery opened at day-light on Monachesco, and before evening did considerable damage to the enemy's works. It being the General's intention to make our battery this night against the Mozelle, he judged it proper to endeavour to draw off the enemy's attention from that place, by a shew of an attack on Monachesco.—In the evening the Royal Irish marched from the right, whilst the light corps moved to the left. The Corsicans also, as soon as it was dark, began to fire; which the enemy thinking to be an attack on Monachesco, fired in all directions; not only from the latter place, but from the Mozelle, Fountain Battery, San Francesco, and the town. In a short time, thinking, I suppose, that we were in possession of Monachesco, they directed their cannon against it; and their musquetry was fired entirely across the isthmus, apprehending doubtless a general attack. It was General Stuart's orders, which were as plain as it was possible for orders to be, that the working parties should move forward with the sand-bags, casks, and platforms, after sun-set; and as soon as they were got a little forward, I was to have moved with the guns; but at half past ten o'clock, when the General returned, not an engineer had advanced: an attempt, however, was made to erect the battery, but by midnight it was found impossible to accomplish it, and mount the guns before day-light. The General therefore ordered all the materials to be taken back to the place whence they had been brought.'

General Stuart to Captain Nelson.

'Every time I write *delay*, my dear Sir, I suffer more than I can describe; for it very little suits with my inclination or disposition. I must however crave it for one night more, and beg from you 100 men at eight o'clock this evening, to forward shot still nearer the

enemy, whilst 150 are employed by me in carrying other articles. Yours very faithfully, Charles Stuart.'

On the 5th, Captain Nelson wrote to the Admiral. 'My dear Lord: I am sorry that all the firing last night produced nothing. It was the General's intention, as he told me yesterday, to make a feint of attacking Monachesco: the failure of any plan must be distressing to him, and I am sure I feel it. Wherever the blame lies, it does not rest with us: we were at our posts one hour before any creature made their appearance. I think, from what the General told me yesterday, that our battery will not be begun this night. I cannot help feeling, my Lord, that a happy degree of irregularity is sometimes better than all this regularity. I mentioned about the boats; as by the way they securely go out by the same way they may attempt to get in; and the deserter yesterday said, we guarded Cape Revalate, but not Cape d'Espanna. I shall see the General before I close this letter, to know if he has any thing to say to your Lordship. P. S. I am just come from him, and I hope we shall get on better this night: he is very much displeased.'

The journal then proceeds. 'July 5th. Carrying junk for mortar platforms, and placing the mortars on their beds, getting also things forward for the advanced battery; 100 seamen were employed all night. Lieutenant Moutray made a battery for two eighteen pounders inside Revalate, with 25 men. July 6th. Procuring some planks, and preparing every thing to be ready to work briskly in the evening: at half past nine o'clock a feint of an attack was carried on against Monachesco, which succeeded amazingly well. Not a shot was fired at us; for the enemy turned their whole fire during the night towards the post which they imagined was attacked. By excessive labour, and the greatest silence in every department, the battery was completed for six guns, within 750 yards of the Mozelle, and without the smallest annoyance, before day-light on the 7th, and the guns brought close to it: but from unavoidable circumstances, the guns could not be mounted on the platforms until two hours afterwards. The enemy did not fire at us until the fifth gun was getting into the battery, probably never thinking of looking so near themselves for a battery, when they opened a heavy fire of grape shot on us: but the seamen did their duty. Considering our very exposed situation, our loss was small in numbers: yet amongst those who fell was Captain Walter Serocold [x] of the navy, who was killed by a grape shot passing through his head as he cheered the people who were dragging the gun. In him the service lost a gallant officer, and a most able seaman. Three soldiers were also killed, one of the Agamemnon's seamen, and Mr. Thomas Corney, mate of the Grand Bay transport, who was one of the volunteers. A little before six o'clock we got two English twenty-four pounders, and four twenty-six pounders, mounted on their platforms, in defi-

[x] A sister of this excellent officer married Dr. Pearce, Dean of Ely and Master of Jesus College, Cambridge.

ance of all opposition. At ten o'clock opened our fire from this battery on the Mozelle and Fountain battery; not a gun from the town can bear upon us, being so much covered by the Mozelle. We also opened our Hill battery of two twenty-six pounders and a twelve inch mortar, 1500 yards from the Mozelle, with the Royal Louis battery of three thirty-six pounders and two twelve inch mortars in the rear, and to the left of our advanced battery; all which kept up during the whole day a constant fire on the enemy. At three o'clock in the afternoon the enemy set fire to the fascines in Monachesco, and abandoned the post, which the Corsicans took possession of. We had considerably damaged the works by night, during which we fired occasionally on their batteries.'

Lord Hood to Captain Nelson, dated Victory, July 7, 1794.

'My dear Nelson: You judged very right that I was anxious to hear from you, and all things considered from your statement, I wonder our loss has not been more considerable: but I feel struck for the fate of poor Serocold, as the King had not a more gallant and deserving officer in the navy, and I had a very sincere regard for him. If you, with the assistance of that brave fellow Hallowell, feel yourselves equal to the service that may arise, I shall not send you another officer; but I shall hold one ready to join you whenever you wish it.'

Captain Nelson to Lord Hood, dated July 8th.

'My dear Lord: I received your letter last night after dark, and having no light in the battery, could not read it until day-break this morning. The enemy abandoned Monachesco yesterday evening, setting all that would burn on fire. Our exertions the night before must have surprised them, and had they believed their eyes at day-light they would have done us much damage; but it was a full hour before they fired a shot after day-break. No person has been killed since our battery opened, and only two wounded, and they slightly. Captain Hallowell[y] and myself feel ourselves fully equal to the duty here.'

The enemy repaired much of the fascine battery during the succeeding night, and throughout the whole of the 8th, both sides had kept up a constant and heavy fire. They totally destroyed two of our twenty-four pounders, greatly damaged a twenty-six pounder, and shook our works very much. 'One of their shells,' adds Captain Nelson in his journal, 'burst in the centre of our battery, amongst the General, myself, and at least 100 persons, and blew up our battery magazine, but, wonderful to say, not a man was much hurt. We, on our part, did considerable damage to the Mozelle and Fountain battery; but when any of their guns were disabled, they had others to supply their place. At night we repaired our works, and got two of the Agamemnon's eighteen pounders to replace the twenty-four pounder. During this day we had two seamen killed, and three soldiers wounded.'

[y] Captain Benjamin Hallowell was re-appointed to the Courageux, after his old ship of that name was wrecked on the Barbary coast; when being taken on board the Victory, Sir John Jervis's flag ship, he became a volunteer in the action of the 14th of February, 1797; and in 1798 commanded the Swiftsure in the battle of the Nile.'

Captain Nelson to Mrs. Nelson, dated Camp, July 8, 1794.

'My dear Fanny: I long to hear from you, for a post has arrived without a letter. Our batteries opened yesterday, and it is possible you may have heard that a Captain of the navy has fallen. To assure you it is not me, I write a few lines; for if such a report should get about, I well know your anxiety of mind. We shall take Calvi in due time, and I hope without much loss of men. I am very busy, yet own I am in all my glory: except with you, I would not be any where but where I am for the world. I am well aware my poor services will not be noticed; I have no interest: but, however services may be received, it is not right in an officer to slacken his zeal for his Country.'

'By ten o'clock on the 9th of July,' adds the journal, 'we had evidently the superiority of fire, and before night had dismounted every gun in the Fountain battery and Mozelle, which bore upon us: but the guns in San Francesco annoyed us considerably, being so much on our left flank, and at so great a distance, that we could not get our guns to bear on it with any effect. In the night we mounted the howitzer of ten inches 150 yards in the rear, and a little to the left of our battery, both of which fired on the enemy every three minutes during the night, to prevent their working. Hallowell and myself each take twenty-four hours at the advanced battery. During this day one soldier was killed, and one soldier and two seamen were wounded. On the 10th at day-light we opened our fire on the Mozelle, and occasionally a gun on the Fountain battery, and found that the enemy had not done any work in that battery during the night, every thing being exactly in the same state. At the Mozelle they had placed great numbers of sand-bags, to prevent our shot from striking under the arches of the bomb-proof of the cavaliere, which we did yesterday by beating down the merlins of the lower work. By seven o'clock in the morning the sand-bags were mostly beat down, and our fire went on without any opposition. By the evening the Mozelle was much shaken, and I am sure a breach may be made practicable, whenever the General thinks it right to turn his attention to it. To the honour of General Stuart, he is not sparing of himself on any occasion; he every night sleeps with us in the advanced battery.'

Captain Nelson to Lord Hood, dated Camp, July 10, 1794.

'My dear Lord: I enclose my Journal up to this morning, it contains nothing but the truth, and was intended by me as only a friendly, not an official communication to your Lordship; and I have to request, that you will alter whatever part you please, which may relate to the misconduct of any officer; for we must recollect, the truth is not to be spoken at all times: but with your Lordship I have no reserve. I think it possible, that the Mozelle may be breached by to-morrow night; and am certain it will be so in one day after the thirty-six pounders are placed against it, as they are to be 200 yards nearer. Two seamen are dead of their wounds.'

From the same to the same, dated July 11.

'My dear Lord: The General seems as anxious as any of us to expedite the fall of Calvi, and if I may be allowed to give my opinion, he is an extraordinary good judge of ground: his object is to keep from the town's fire until the Mozelle falls. I can only say, that every exertion of mine shall be used to facilitate its reduction. The Royal Louis are bringing the three guns intrusted to them down the hill, to an advanced battery. We are now firing red hot shot at the fascine battery, to endeavour to destroy it effectually; but I am rather inclined to think there is too much sand mixed with the fascines. I shall finish this in the works. The new battery cannot be made this night, though I hope all the materials will be got forward. I shall at all events get the guns, and have just sent for the two twenty-six pounders, with shot and shells, to be brought round to night.'

The Journal then proceeds to inform us, that at ten o'clock on the same day Nelson saw the enemy carry off their field pieces and howitzer, and totally abandon the Fountain battery; which was no sooner done, than they opened a fire from the bastions of the town, over their old battery and the Mozelle, and although they could not see our battery, yet great numbers of their shot struck it. By the evening a very large breach was made in the lower work of the Mozelle; and during the night Lieutenant Moutray joined with 25 seamen; at ten o'clock they got up two thirty-six pounders and one twenty-six pounder. They had this day one soldier killed.

The next day, July 12, he mentioned the wound which he had received to the Admiral. 'My dear Lord: The enemy yesterday afternoon abandoned the Fountain battery, as I am sure they will the Mozelle and San Francesco, when they come to be pressed. Reports we know get about, and as neither time nor many other circumstances may be mentioned, it is best to say it myself, that I got a little hurt this morning; not much, as your Lordship may judge by my writing.'

What this zealous officer so modestly termed a 'little hurt,' proved eventually to be the loss of his right eye.—'At day-light on the 12th,' as he informs us in his Journal, 'the enemy opened a heavy fire from the town and San Francesco, which, in an extraordinary manner, seldom missed our battery; and at seven o'clock I was much bruised in the face and eyes by sand from the works, struck by shot. The Mozelle was by this time much breached. At night replaced the guns destroyed, and fired a gun and mortar every three minutes. At half past twelve the town was on fire, and burnt for three hours. We had two seamen and three soldiers wounded.'—Both Captain Nelson and his friends for some time deceived themselves with a hope that his eye would be restored, when the swelling had subsided; and in writing the next day to Lord Hood, he said, 'My eye is better, and I hope not entirely to lose the sight. I shall be able to attend my duty this evening, if a new battery is to be made.'

It was the intention of General Stuart, if possible, to get possession of the Mozelle without erecting another battery, and then to direct the whole of his efforts against the town wall, leaving the eighteen pounders in the battery, and carrying forward the twenty-six and thirty-six pounder. The enemy however still continued, for many days, to carry on the defence of Calvi with considerable spirit and resolution, until they had nearly exhausted the strength and resources of their brave opponents. During the whole of the 13th of July, a constant fire was kept up from the town, which struck our battery very often, and dismounted another twenty-six pounder.—'This is the fifth gun,' adds Captain Nelson, 'which has been disabled since the 7th, when our battery opened, and having only six guns in it, is quite wonderful. At night we landed four eighteen pounders, with a quantity of shot and shells in Port Vaccaja, and were employed in getting them up to the rear of our work. And here I must acknowledge the indefatigable zeal, activity, and ability of Captain Hallowell, and the great readiness which he ever shews to give me assistance in the laborious duties that are intrusted to us: by computation, to this night, we may be supposed to have dragged one twenty-six pounder, with its ammunition and every requisite for making a battery, upwards of eighty miles, seventeen of which were up a very steep mountain.'

The enemy kept up a brisk fire during the whole of the 16th of July. Three of our seamen and three soldiers were blown up by some gunpowder. Captain Nelson on this day attended General Stuart to examine the proper ground for a battery against the Mozelle, or town, and the breaches in the former appearing very large, every thing was ready on the 17th to go forward: but from some cause or other, the attack for that night was deferred.

In a letter which had been sent to Mrs. Nelson on the 14th, he said, 'A fortnight will, I have no doubt, give us Calvi; but our efforts here are at such a distance, and so eclipsed by Lord Howe's great success at home, that I dare say we are not thought of: however, we must exert ourselves.' His letter to Lord Hood, dated July 16, declared, that the General, who had been very ill from such incessant fatigue, did not think the breach practicable in the Mozelle, and 'I am rather inclined to believe,' added Captain Nelson,' it will not be more so this evening; for we are beating against the solid rock, and the enemy have filled up the space between the work and the cavaliere with sand bags. We must this evening either make another battery for four guns, 250 yards nearer, which will knock down an angle, or else mount the breach as it is.' On the next day, July 17, Captain Nelson sent the following account from the camp, to Sir Gilbert Elliot, the Viceroy. 'You may possibly, my dear Sir, hear both from Lord Hood and General Stuart of our operations; therefore I shall say little more of them, than that success, I have no doubt, will attend the General, and no officer ever deserved it more. The place is strong, and the access to it

is difficult; but the principal obstacles are, I hope, overcome. The Mozelle will be stormed this night, two breaches are made in it. The great fatigue General Stuart has undergone since our landing, has rather injured his health; yet nothing stops him from seeing every thing done himself. Our loss has been trifling, not 20 killed and wounded; amongst the former is Captain Serocold, and amongst the latter, in a slight manner, myself, my head being a good deal wounded, and my right eye cut down: but the surgeon flatters me I shall not entirely lose the sight, which I believe, for I can clearly distinguish light from darkness. It confined me, thank God, only one day, and that at a time when nothing particular happened to be going on.'

General Stuart on the 16th had communicated his plan to Captain Nelson for storming the Mozelle on the ensuing night; but the enemy by their mode of firing during that day, in trying the range of the different grounds which the besiegers had to pass, seemed to have been aware of their intentions: the storming of the Mozelle, therefore, did not take place at the time intended. On the 18th every person was busily employed in getting ready. 'The 50th regiment,' continues the journal, 'were to assist in making a battery for three twenty-six pounders to the right of the Mozelle, at about the distance of 300 yards; the seamen were ordered to carry forward the guns and mount them, and also one thirteen inch mortar. Sixty seamen, under Lieutenants Edmonds and Harrison, were to carry forward the field pieces. The disposition of the troops was as follows: Colonel Wemyss, with the 18th regiment, was to proceed by the left of our six gun battery, with two field pieces drawn by seamen, and, with fixed bayonets, was to take possession of the Fountain battery, which having carried, the Colonel was to direct his force against San Francesco, if it fired; when the troops under Colonel Moore, with two field pieces drawn by seamen, were to move forward, under cover of the three gun battery, and carpenters under Lieutenant St. George were to go before to cut down the palisados. A party under Major Brereton were to advance by the right of the Mozelle, and cut off the enemy's retreat from the town. Colonel Moore's party were to be supported by the 51st regiment. The 50th regiment, having finished their work at the battery, was to remain under arms; and the troops were to move forward lying on their arms. We continued all night hard at work, and landed 112 seamen from the Agamemnon, under Lieutenant Suckling.'

On the 19th, at three o'clock in the morning, a smart fire of musquetry was opened on the 18th regiment, who marched into the Fountain battery without firing a shot, although the Mozelle fired grape upon them: the enemy abandoned the work and trench behind it, and fled into the town. Colonel Wemyss performed his duty like an able officer. The two field pieces under Lieutenant Harrison, with the grenadiers under Colonel Moore, now began to fire into the breach of the Mozelle, and our new three gun battery opened at the same time. The Royal Irish giving an huzza, the pioneers rushed forward, and cut

.down the palisados, and the troops under Colonel Moore, after returning the huzza, were in the breach. The enemy were panic struck, and fled with such rapidity, that before Major Brereton with the light infantry could get between the Mozelle and the town, they had all, excepting four or five, escaped. Captain M'Donald of the Royals led up one breach, and Lieutenant M'Donald the other; both were slightly wounded. Thus fell the Mozelle, with the loss of only four men killed and seven wounded. 'I think,' adds Captain Nelson in his letter on the 19th to Lord Hood, 'that General Stuart must be pleased with our services. I could have wished to have had a little part in the storm, if it had been only to have placed the ladders, and to have pulled away the palisados; however, we did the part allotted for us.'—The Royal Irish were employed, from the moment they got into the Fountain battery, in throwing up an entrenchment, being within grape shot of the town: whence the enemy at day-light had opened an heavy fire of shot and shells, both on the Royal Irish and the three gun battery, and before eleven o'clock six were killed and twelve wounded, amongst the latter was Captain Mackenzie of the Royals. On the same day General Stuart sent Sir James St. Clair Erskine into Calvi, with a flag of truce, thinking it a proper moment, after the Mozelle had fallen, to know the sentiments of the garrison, and if they had any terms to propose: the answer he brought back was expressive of their determination to hold out to the last extremity.

Captain Nelson, in his letter to Lord Hood on the 20th, said, 'The General is going to send to Bastia for 300 troops to assist the army in the land duty, which they now have. Gunpowder is wanted, and also shot, and in such quantities as, I fear, is out of your Lordship's power to supply; for we have no chance of success, but by battering a breach, which, without ammunition, cannot be done; and the siege is come to this point, either to go on, or to give it up. I told the General, that if you had the means of supplying his wants, I was certain you would do it; but I believed neither shot nor powder was to be obtained from the ships. The General then said, as San Francesco was destroyed, why could not the ships be laid against the walls? I took the liberty of observing, that the business of lying before walls was much altered of late, and that even if the enemy had no hot shot, which I believed they had, still the quantity of ammunition which would be fired away on such an attack, could be much better directed from a battery on shore. Our conversation was carried on with the greatest politeness, and he thanked me for my assistance; but it was necessary to come to the point, Whether the siege should be persevered in, or given up? If the former, he must be supplied with the means, which were more troops, more seamen to work, and more ammunition.—I had written thus far, when Sir James Erskine arrived to say he was going off to your Lordship.'

On the same day, Lord Hood informed Captain Nelson, that 50 seamen would be sent him from each of the four frigates, commanded, under his directions, by Captain Seccombe,

and that 100 would be added from the Victory.' On the next day, July 21, the Admiral also added, 'I had much rather that 100 seamen should be landed unnecessarily, than that one should be kept back that was judged necessary: but I own, my dear Nelson, that I cannot account for what has taken place within the last forty-eight hours, unless some private negotiation has been carrying on with Calvi, which you are unacquainted with. Be that as it may, all I have to request of you is, to assist the wishes of General Stuart as far as you can; if they are beyond your means, make them known to me.'—In his answer on the 22d, Captain Nelson, with his wonted enthusiasm, exclaimed, 'We will fag ourselves to death, before any blame shall lie at our doors; and I trust, my dear Lord, it will not be forgotten, that twenty-five pieces of heavy ordnance have been dragged to the different batteries and mounted, and all, but the three at the Royal Louis battery, have been fought by seamen, except one artillery man to point the guns, and, at first, an additional gunner to stop the rest; but, as I did not choose to trust a seaman's arms to any but seamen, he was withdrawn; all the mortars have also been worked by seamen: every man landed is actually half barefooted. I am far from well; but not so ill as to be confined. My eye is troublesome, and I don't think I shall ever have the perfect sight of it again. In one week at farthest, after our batteries are open, I think Calvi will be ours.' In another letter, dated July 26, he added, 'I trust the General will not forget our services; and, when I recollect on the morning when the six gun battery was completed, how he expressed his thanks to our seamen, for dragging and mounting the guns under a heavy fire of grape shot, I think he cannot. When all our batteries are completed, we shall have thirty-five pieces of ordnance playing on the town.' On the 31st Captain Nelson continued his correspondence with the Admiral, from one of the batteries. 'My dear Lord: I own I rejoiced when our fire opened against the enemy, being thoroughly convinced, that all we have to guard against, is unnecessary delay: the climate is the only enemy we have to fear; that we can never conquer. Far be it from me to cast a reflection on the General's humanity, I admire it; but there are times, and I think the present is one of them, when it would be more charitable to our troops to make the enemy suffer, than for our brave fellows to die incessantly, four or five of a day. Why might not the General send notice, that they must remove all their sick from the lower town to the upper one, for that it may be a necessary measure to destroy it? In that case they would be so crowded, that a few hours would make them submit to any terms. The General is very unwell, and not being able to remain here last night, I have not heard of him this morning. This is my ague day, and I hope so active a scene will keep off the fit. It has shaken me a good deal; but I have been used to them, and now don't mind them much. Lieutenant Byron, heir to the title of Lord Byron, with an Ensign of the 51st, were killed yesterday afternoon, and one officer was wounded. We have only lost one man by sickness since we landed.

Hallowell is very well, and joins in best respects.'—In a letter to Mrs. Nelson, dated August the 4th, he thus spoke of himself. 'Except a very slight scratch towards my right eye, I have received no hurt whatever: so you see I am not the worse for campaigning; but I cannot say I have any wish to go on with it. This day I have been four months landed, except a few days when we were after the French fleet, and I feel almost qualified to pass my examination as a besieging general.'

On the 2d of August, Captain Nelson had informed the Admiral, that sixteen of the seamen landed had fallen ill the day before from the heat; but he added, 'Hallowell and myself are always on the batteries with them, and our Jacks don't mind it.' By the 5th, they had seventy of their seamen on the sick list, besides thirty who had been already sent on board the Agamemnon. The following letter to his Royal Highness the Duke of Clarence, dated from the camp before Calvi, August 6th and 10th, retraces the history of the siege to that date. 'Sir: The gazette will tell your Royal Highness the general outlines of this siege, which I believe is novel in its form. We landed about four miles to the westward of Calvi on the 19th of June; on the 19th of July we were in full possession of every outpost of the enemy, with very trifling loss. Our batteries were erected with impunity in situations which the enemy ought to have prevented. Had they kept even a moderate look-out, our loss of men must have been great, every battery being within reach of grape shot from its opponent. On the 19th of July, General Stuart sent in to ask, if they had any terms to propose to him; their answer was the motto of the town,—*Civitas Calvis semper fidelis.* We were then only 650 yards from the centre of the citadel, and they allowed us to erect very strong batteries under a mask, they must, and ought to have known what we were after, without firing a single shot or shell. On the 28th in the morning our batteries, 560 yards from the Citadel wall, were ready to open their force, consisting of twenty-one cannon, five mortars, and four howitzers. The General sent in to say, that he should not fire on the black flags (hospitals). This note produced a negotiation, by which the enemy wanted to obtain a truce for twenty-five days; when, if no succours arrived, they agreed to surrender the town, frigates, &c. Lord Hood and the General agreed to give them six days; but, whilst this was going on, four small vessels got in, which gave them hopes, I suppose, of more effectual relief; for on the 30th of July they rejected our offer, and our fire opened with all the effect we could expect. On the 1st of August, at eleven o'clock, when much of the parapet was beat down, and the houses in the Citadel were either in ruins or in flames, the enemy hung out a white flag, and requested a suspension of hostilities for a few hours, to prepare terms. In twenty-four hours every thing was settled, That on the 10th of August we were to be put in full possession, and the garrison, and such of the inhabitants as chose, were to be transported to Toulon, without being prisoners of war; provided no effectual succours were thrown in by

the French. Thus is likely to end the attack of Corsica, the possession of which will I hope benefit our Country. Whilst there are such men as Sir Gilbert Elliot, to point out the advantages, it would be impertinent in me to attempt it. The loss to the French will be great; they got from it all the deals, that are excellent, for their decks, and timbers for their topsides, with pitch and tar, which although of an inferior quality, they employed at Toulon for many uses. We also get the Melpomene, the most beautiful frigate I ever saw, fourteen ports, thirteen eighteen pounders. The Mignonne with twelve pounders, but not a very fine ship, at least if compared with the other.

'The climate here, from July to October, is most unfavourable for military operations. It is now what we call the Dog-days, here it is termed the Lion Sun; no person can endure it: we have upwards of 1000 sick out of 2000, and the others not much better than so many phantoms. We have lost many men from the season, very few from the enemy. I am here the reed amongst the oaks; all the prevailing disorders have attacked me, but I have not strength for them to fasten upon: I bow before the storm, whilst the sturdy oak is laid low. One plan I pursue, never to employ a doctor; nature does all for me, and Providence protects me. Always happy, if my humble but hearty endeavours can serve my King and Country.

'The French fleet are still at Gourjean road, and so securely moored, that it is said we cannot get at them with our ships. They are guarded as much as possible from fireships by a line of frigates outside the large ships, and a line of gun-boats outside them, and at night a line of launches; the whole is protected by very formidable batteries. When they came out of Toulon, by some mistake, they were represented to Admiral Hotham as nine sail of the line, whereas time has shewn they were only seven; which induced a most gallant officer to bear up for Calvi, and there he intended to fight them sooner than they should throw in succours: had he known they were only an equal force, I am sure he would have given a good account of them.

'I have written thus much, that your Royal Highness may be assured of my compliance with your desire of knowing what we are about; and that I am ready to obey your orders; being, with the highest respect, your Royal Highness's most dutiful servant.'

On the 8th of August, Captain Nelson, in writing to Lord Hood, said, 'I rejoice to see the Victory in sight again, and may now almost congratulate your Lordship on the final reduction of Corsica; an object which I know you had much at heart, and which has been protracted beyond all bounds of calculation. Captain Hallowell, I am sorry to say, is very unwell, and much reduced. If Dr. Harness is on board, I wish he would come and look at Hallowell; I think, poor fellow, he would like it.' The same day, August the 8th, the Admiral made known the thanks of both Houses of Parliament,[z] as commanded

[z] Voted on June 20th, 1794.

by his Majesty, to the respective officers, seamen, marines, and soldiers, who had been employed in the different operations, that had been successfully carried on against the enemy in Corsica.

During the siege, and previous to our taking possession of Calvi on the 10th, according to the terms agreed on by General Stuart on the 1st of August, the Admiral had sent several dispatches home, from some of which the following extracts are taken. In that dated August 5th, Lord Hood had paid the highest compliment and rendered the most essential service to Captain Nelson, by the opportunity that had been given him to tell his own story: 'The Journal I herewith transmit from Captain Nelson will shew the daily occurrences of the siege. He had the command of the seamen, and his unremitting zeal and exertion I cannot sufficiently describe, nor that of Captain Hallowell; they took it by turns to command in the advanced battery twenty-four hours at a time, and I flatter myself, that both of them, as well as the other officers and seamen, will have full justice done them by the General; it is therefore unnecessary for me to say any more on the subject. But I have to lament, and which I do most sincerely, the loss of a very able and valuable officer, Captain Serocold, who was killed by a grape shot, whilst getting the last gun in its place, soon after the enemy had discovered our battery. The King had not a more meritorious young Captain in his Majesty's navy. He commanded the floating battery which was burnt by red hot shot before Bastia, and afterwards served with infinite reputation at the batteries on shore: independent of my esteem and regard for him, I feel his loss to be a public one.' Lord Hood then proceeded to mention with merited commendation, the Captains Wolseley, Hood, Sir C. Hamilton, Sir Harry Burrard, Cunningham, Macnamara, and Robinson, Mr. Gibson of the Fox cutter, and Messrs. Harrison and Harrington.

On the 9th of August, when off Calvi, his Lordship, in transmitting duplicates of the above dispatches, had accompanied them with the following spirited remonstrance. 'Sir, I sailed from Martello bay on the 7th, and got off here the next morning. In the evening, between eight and nine o'clock, a felucca was stopped coming out of Calvi, and was brought alongside the Victory; the coxswain of which having a pass from Lieutenant General Stuart, I have the honour to transmit a copy of it; which is all the information I have had of the capitulation, the General not having made any communication to me respecting the articles; and, excepting a desire to know on the 2d instant at midnight, if I would allow transports to carry off the garrison, and such of the inhabitants as were desirous of leaving the island, I have not heard a word from him since the 29th of last month; when he came on board to announce the proposition of Casabianca, the French commandant, for a twenty-five days truce. No failure, however great, either of official or personal attention which I may experience, will ever make me depart from that duty I owe to my King and Country, and which has invariably been exerted to promote

the good of his Majesty's service to the utmost of my power, upon all occasions, and I shall enable Lieutenant General Stuart to fulfil the articles of the capitulation he has made; although I am well aware these are not times to complain, I must state facts.—I owe it to my character, to the service, as well as to the public, to whose tribunal I shall ever cheerfully submit my conduct. I shall inform Lieutenant General Stuart of my desire to have some conversation with him and Sir G. Elliot, before I leave the Corsican coast, in order to ascertain how far any disposition of his Majesty's naval force under my command may tend to secure the island.'

Captain Nelson, in his Journal, thus concluded his account of the siege of Calvi. ' August 10th, at nine o'clock, about 300 troops, a party of seamen, some Royal Louis, and some Corsicans, were drawn up opposite the great gate to receive the garrison of Calvi, who at ten o'clock marched out with two pieces of cannon, and the honours of war; amounting in the whole to 300 troops, and 247 armed Corsicans. I immediately sent Lieutenant Moutray and a party of seamen, to take possession of the frigates, gun-boats, and merchant vessels in the harbour, and I also ordered six transports to come in; and was employed all the day embarking the garrison, the sick, and such inhabitants as chose to return to France. Out of their armed men the enemy had 313 sick in their hospital. We have had six killed, six wounded, and two are missing. We expended 11,275 shot, and 2751 shells.'—In a letter to Lord Hood of the same date, he gave the following liberal tribute of praise to those officers who had assisted him during the siege .' My Lord: Having transmitted my Journal of the services in which the seamen have been engaged during the whole siege, I have now only to acquaint your Lordship of the highly meritorious conduct of every officer and seaman landed under my command; to express my sincere acknowledgments for the very effectual support and assistance I have received from the ability, zeal, and activity of Captain Hallowell; and that Lieutenants Edmonds, Morgan, and Ferrier, were constantly with the seamen, fighting the batteries; to which were joined on the last batteries, Lieutenants Moutray, Hoy, and Suckling.' Captain Nelson also mentioned the services of Lieutenant Harrison, a transport agent, and of Mr. William Harrington, master of the Willington, and the transport's men, who had all been eager either to serve on shore, or on board his Majesty's ships. He returned on board his old ship the Agamemnon on the 11th of August; and, in writing to his wife on that day, spoke of his own health: ' As soon as I can get our guns on board, I shall go to Leghorn to refit; my ship's company are all worn out, as is this whole army, except myself; nothing hurts me. God bless you.' In a subsequent letter, dated off Leghorn, August 18, he added, ' I left Calvi on the 15th, and hope never to be in it again. I was yesterday in St. Fiorenzo, and to-day shall be safe moored, I expect, in Leghorn; since the ship has been commissioned, this will be the first resting time we have had. As it is all past, I may

now tell you, that on the 10th of July, a shot having hit our battery, the splinters and stones from it struck me with great violence in the face and breast. Although the blow was so severe as to occasion a great flow of blood from my head, yet I most fortunately escaped, having only my right eye nearly deprived of its sight; it was cut down, but is so far recovered, as for me to be able to distinguish light from darkness. As to all the purposes of use it is gone; however the blemish is nothing, not to be perceived, unless told. The pupil is nearly the size of the blue part, I don't know the name. At Bastia, I got a sharp cut in the back. You must not think that my hurts confined me: no, nothing but the loss of a limb would have kept me from my duty, and I believe my exertions conduced to preserve me, in this general mortality. I am fearful that Mrs. Moutray's son, who was on shore with us, will fall a sacrifice to the climate, he is a lieutenant of the Victory, a very fine young man, for whom I have a great regard. Lord Hood is quite distressed about him. Poor little Hoste is also extremely ill, and I have great fears about him; 150 of my people are in their beds, of 2000 men I am the most healthy. Josiah is very well, and a clever smart young man, for so I must call him, his sense demands it.'

The fears which he expressed in this letter for Lieutenant Moutray, were too soon realised by his death. The following inscription was drawn up by Nelson: '*Sacred to the memory of* ***Lieutenant James Moutray, R. N.*** *who serving on shore at the siege of Calvi, there caught a fever, of which he died, sincerely lamented, on August* 19*th*, 1794, *aged* 21 *years. This stone is erected by an affectionate Friend, who well knew his worth as an Officer, and his accomplished manners as a gentleman. H. N.*' In a letter to Mrs. Nelson, dated Leghorn, Sept. 1, he informed her of this event. 'You will be sorry to hear, my dear Fanny, that young Moutray is dead; he was second lieutenant of the Victory, and at this moment, had he survived, would have been a captain. What a shock it will be to his poor mother, who was all expectation to hear of his promotion; a very different account will now be told her. His amiable disposition will never be forgotten by those who knew him. Lord Hood was his godfather, and feels much for the loss of him.—The French squadron is still in Gourjean Bay, blockaded by us and the Spaniards; but another month must liberate them, and they will get I dare say to Toulon. The opportunity was lost of fighting them when they first came out of port.

'Sept. 12. I expect to see you in the fall of the year; and although I shall not bring with me either riches or honours; yet I flatter myself I shall bring an unblemished character. It always rejoices me to hear that you are comfortable, and that my friends are attentive to you. I hope we shall find some snug cottage, whenever we may be obliged to quit the parsonage. My ship's company are better, but still are in a very weak state. It is probable that we shall get to sea in about three days, and attend Lord Hood in the Victory to Genoa, Porto Especia, and Vado Bay; and then proceed off Gourjean Bay, Toulon,

and I hope to Gibraltar and England. When Lord Hood quits this station, I should be truly sorry to remain: he is the greatest sea officer I ever knew, and what can be said against him, I cannot conceive; it must only be envy, and it is better to be envied than pitied. But this comes from the army, who have also poisoned some few of our minds. The taking of Bastia, contrary to all military judgment, is such an attack on them that it is never to be forgiven.'

Soon after the date of the above letter, he received an order from Lord Hood, dated on board the Victory, Sept. 18, 1794, to proceed into the mole of Genoa, with dispatches to Mr. Drake, and there to wait for further orders. On the 20th, he wrote as follows from thence to Mrs. Nelson. 'This city is without exception the most magnificent I ever beheld, superior in many respects to Naples; although it does not appear quite so fine from the sea, yet on shore it is far beyond it. All the houses are palaces on the grandest scale. However, I trust we shall soon quit these magnificent scenes, and retire to England, where all that I admire is placed.' Captain Nelson's reception from the Doge was far more flattering than he expected, after our capture of the Modeste frigate. In writing to Lord Hood on the 23d of September, he gave the following account of this visit. 'My Lord: On Sunday evening I waited on the Doge, and, as Mr. Drake was not arrived, I found it absolutely necessary to say something civil, which I did in the following words: 'That I was come to pay my respects to his Serene Highness, and to assure him, that both by duty and inclination I should preserve the strictest attention to the neutrality of Genoa; and should be happy in doing every thing in my power to cement the harmony which subsisted between the two nations.' The Doge was much pleased, and very civil; and answered, 'That he thanked me for my expressions of friendship, and begged to assure me, that it should be reciprocal on his part; and that from so pleasing a beginning of our renewal of friendship, he had no doubt of its being lasting: that he was always glad to see English men of war in Genoa, and whatever I might find a difficulty in procuring, if I would make it known to him, he should be happy in removing it; and that the gates were always at my disposal.' I was received in some state, the Doge advancing to the middle of the room. I had the honour also of a senato. On my departure from the palace, the orders of the Doge had arrived before me at the gates, where the captain of the guard told me he had received the mandate for opening them, at whatever time I pleased.'

His next letter to Mrs. Nelson, from Genoa, is dated Sept. 27. 'We are just going to sea with Lord Hood and Admiral Hotham, who came in here four days ago. We are to proceed off Gourjean to look at the French ships, and thence to Toulon, where the enemy have six sail ready for sea, and most probably will soon make an effort to join their other ships. The French have taken possession of Vado Bay in the Genoese territory, and of

course will prevent our ships from anchoring; and I have but little doubt, if the enemy turn their thoughts to the invasion of Italy, that next spring they will accomplish it. The allied powers seem jealous of each other, and none but England is hearty in the cause. Lord Hood goes from the fleet to Corsica, whence he sails for England.'

The following letter from his Father could not fail to act as a powerful support on the enterprising mind of Nelson. 'My dear Horatio: It is well known that the predestinarian doctrine is amongst the creeds of military men. It may sometimes be useful; yet it must not exclude the confidence Christianity preaches of a particular providence, which directs all events. It was an unerring Power, wise and good, which diminished the force of the blow by which your eye was lost; and we thank the hand that spared you, spared you for future good, for example, and instruction in many subsequent years. There is no fear that flattery can come from me; but I sometimes wipe away the tear of joy, at hearing your character in every point of view so well spoken of. The letters received from you, give me and your good wife the pleasing intelligence, that your health has not suffered from the long fatiguing service you are professionally obliged to go through; and also, that success has generally been the issue of your endeavours, to make yourself known to the world as a man of probity and judgment; not only looking towards the things that are your own, but to those of others also. Your lot is cast, but the whole disposing thereof is of the Lord: the very hairs of your head are numbered, a most comfortable doctrine.

'Upon the whole, I am as strong as can be looked for; how many do I see, and hear of, that are either fallen, or much more afflicted by age, than myself. Bless God, my days are lengthened, I hope, for some good purpose. Accept, my dear good son, the usual but most hearty expressions of love and friendship from your affectionate Father, Edmund Nelson.'

In writing to Lord Hood on the 29th of September, Captain Nelson informed him, that the Agamemnon had arrived at Genoa, in a very strong breeze and thick weather, on the preceding day: 'We were in the mole,' added he, 'before they saw us from the signal-house; and none of us having been here, I had the signal up for a pilot, which by the consul's account they took for the flag of a vice-admiral; and, though it was struck full a quarter of an hour before they saluted, which they did with fifteen guns, and I returned with an equal number; yet, if the salute was not intended for a private ship, I shall probably hear more of it. Two small privateers of the enemy are here, who occasionally go to sea: only three English vessels are in the mole, and had we more they could not stir for these ships. The government have called on me to pledge my honour, which I did, that I would not break the neutrality of the port. I do not think they can ever be mad enough to allow the Sans Culottes to enter Genoa; here would be glorious plunder for them.'

Lord Hood, with his letter to Captain Nelson, dated Sept. 30, off Genoa, sent him an

order to proceed off Gourjean, and to put himself under the command of Vice Admiral Hotham, or, in his absence, Vice Admiral Goodall. On the 2d of October, Captain Nelson transmitted an official statement of his wound, and added, 'I have to request, that you will take such measures as you may judge proper, that my Sovereign may be informed of my loss of an eye in his service; and I do not think his Majesty will consider that I suffered less pain, from my determination to do my duty in twenty-four hours after the accident, lest those laborious duties intrusted by your Lordship to my directions should have been neglected. I submit my case entirely to you, resting assured you will mention me in this matter as I deserve, and will do ample justice to the gallant officers and seamen employed under me.'[a]

The following letters to Mrs. Nelson continue an account of his proceedings, without any interruption, to the 31st of October. The first is dated the 3d of that month, off Gourjean: 'Lord Hood is gone to Leghorn to receive his dispatches by a messenger, who is arrived from England, and most probably we shall only see him to take leave. Admiral Hotham will be Commander in Chief, and with new men, new measures are generally adopted; therefore I can at present say nothing about myself, except that I am in most perfect health. We have here eleven sail of the line, the enemy have fourteen; seven here, and seven at Toulon. They will probably before the winter is over effect a junction, when our fleet will be kept together; but whenever they choose to give us a meeting, the event I have no doubt will be such as every Englishman has a right to expect.—October 10th. Lord Hood is to join us in a few days; I fear I have no chance whatever of going home. My ship's company are by no means recovered, and we are destined to keep the sea, until both ship and crew are rendered unfit for service. Pray let me hear often from you, it is my greatest comfort.—October 12th. Lord Hood left us yesterday; therefore our hopes of my going home at present are at an end, however we must not repine; at all events I shall cheat the winter, and as I understand I am to have a cruise, it may possibly be advantageous. Lord Hood is very well inclined towards me; but the service must ever supersede all private consideration. I hope you will spend the winter cheerfully. The Wolterton family, I am sure, will be happy to receive you for as long a time as you please. Do not repine at my absence; before spring I hope we shall have peace, when we must look out for some little cottage: I assure you I shall return to the plough with redoubled glee.--October 15th. Two of my opponents, whom I fell in with last year about this time, are now in England, or near it, the St. Fiorenzo, late la Minerve, and la Melpomene, both of 40 guns, 18 pounders, two as fine frigates as are in the world. I have been fortunate in being present at the taking and destroying of that whole squadron; and

[a] Lord Hood's collection of letters. This letter was accompanied by two certificates corroborating the above statement, and proving, to use Captain Nelson's expression, *That his eye had been damaged at the siege of Calvi.*

which, but for our disabling them, intended to have returned to France; they are now better disposed of.

'Leghorn, October 24th. What changes, my dearest Fanny, our life is subject to! The other day, when I wrote, I was going up the Levant; now that is gone by, and I am under different orders. We came in here to get a few refreshments for my people, seventy of whom are still very ill, and I go to sea on the 26th to join the fleet again. We have but little news here. I wish we could make a peace on any fair terms, for poor England will be drained of her riches to maintain her allies, who will not fight for themselves. Leghorn, October 31st. It is an ill wind that blows nobody any good: Being obliged by a gale to put back last night, I in consequence received your letter of September 30th, which gave me infinite pleasure. Why you should be uneasy about me, so as to make yourself ill, I know not. I feel a confident protection in whatever service I may be employed upon, and as to my health, I don't know that I was ever so truly well; I fancy myself grown quite stout. My ship, and ship's company, though not in half the strength as when I left Spithead, several of my guns that were landed at Corsica having been destroyed, yet I am sure feel themselves equal to go alongside any 74 out of France. Lord Hood sends me word he shall come out here again: I own I don't think so, although he retains the chief command. It rejoices me to hear Maurice[b] is so well off. Admiral Hotham cannot keep the sea much longer, the fleet must return into some port. We have had three gales of wind in thirteen days, all very strong; neither sails, ships, nor men, can stand it. In the channel, the fleet goes instantly into Torbay, here we always keep the sea.'

When writing to the Duke of Clarence, dated Agamemnon at sea, November 7, Captain Nelson mentioned the following circumstances. 'Since I had the honour of writing to your Royal Highness, my time has been fully occupied in endeavouring to reinstate the health of my ship's company, which had been miserably torn to pieces by, without vanity I hope I may be allowed to say, as hard service as a ship's crew ever performed. I have lost fifty of my best men since I left Calvi, nor can the others be got round to their proper health, so entirely are their constitutions destroyed. I had been sent into Leghorn for some stores at the latter end of October, and did not join Admiral Hotham off Gourjean Bay until the 3d of November in the morning; when I found the enemy's fleet had given us the slip, and that it was determined to unite our fleet at St. Fiorenzo; the French having given out, *that they would eat their new year's dinner in Corsica.* I was immediately detached to look into Hieres Bay and Toulon, and to examine into the state of their fleet, and where they were got to. On the 5th of November, not finding them in Hieres Bay, I stood close into Toulon harbour, where are twenty-two sail of ships in the inner harbour,

[b] His elder brother.

we could only look over a point of land, therefore cannot say how many were of the line. I see plainly they will keep us in hot water the whole winter, and I think it probable may detach small squadrons to get, for a few days at intervals, in the track of our trade upward bound. Your Royal Highness has probably read the list handed about of their fleet, fifteen sail of the line, ten frigates, and corvettes. Many we know must be in very bad condition; but still they may bear a few hours at sea, which is sufficient for their purpose. Believe me ever with the highest respect, your Royal Highness's most dutiful servant, Horatio Nelson.'

On the 10th of November, when writing to Sir Gilbert Elliot, the Viceroy of Corsica, Captain Nelson, after repeating many things already mentioned in the preceding letter, added, 'If the enemy[c] have an intention of getting a footing in Corsica, Ajaccio[d] is the place they will attempt; and should they succeed, we shall find it difficult to drive them out again. I never was there; but it strikes me, that if numbers were landed, and the appearance of their fleet could be made for a few hours, they might succeed; for the Corsicans understand nothing of the art of defending fortified towns. You will, I am sure, receive what I am going to say, as it is meant, and will believe, that all my wishes and desires are to see our Country successful, and the schemes of our enemies frustrated. I am well aware it may be said, and with truth, that we have not troops in the island to defend any one place properly. I admit it; but in answer I reply, and am satisfied in my own mind it will turn out so, 'If the enemy makes an attempt, some troops and artillery stationed at Ajaccio, to keep the gates shut for a few days, would render their schemes abortive; and if a guardship were added, the seamen in case of necessity could go on shore to man the works: for if the enemy get Ajaccio, they may remain there with their whole fleet, or leave a single frigate, neither of which we could attack; for there are no soundings in the gulf, and the sea setting constantly in, would make us keep at a distance. With this defence I am confident the place, and I believe I may say the island of Corsica, would be perfectly safe, until our fleet could get to the enemy; when I have no doubt the event would be what every Briton might expect: besides we have the incitement, if any is wanted, of our home fleet, and we shall not like to be outdone by any one.

'I have taken the liberty of mentioning these ideas respecting the importance of Ajaccio, only on the belief which I have, that your Excellency will receive it as a private communication; my situation does not entitle me to give any public opinion on such a point: as a private one I send it, and shall be happy if it gives rise to a serious consideration of the importance of that place; when, I doubt not, much more proper modes of defence and

[c] Lord Minto's collection of letters.

[d] It was from this town that Buonaparte and his family were banished in the year 1793. The mayor of Ajaccio, Tartaroli, who drew up their sentence in very strong terms, is now in London. In 1794 Tartaroli was President of the criminal tribunal, and Director General of the Artillery in Corsica.

security will be thought of, than I have suggested. But, however that may be, I am bold to say, none can exceed me in the earnest desire of faithfully serving my King and Country, and of convincing your Excellency, how much I am on every occasion your most sincere humble servant.'

The following letters to Mrs. Nelson, and his Royal Highness the Duke of Clarence, give an account of the service on which the Agamemnon was employed, to the end of December, 1794.—' St. Fiorenzo, Nov. 12th. I have been sent, since I wrote to you last, to look after the French fleet, who had again given Admiral Hotham the slip. I found them in Toulon, sixteen sail of the line and several frigates, and came in here two days afterwards. The French say they will have Corsica again. There has been a most diabolical report here, of Agamemnon's being captured and carried into Toulon, owing to my running into the harbour's mouth. I hope it has not reached England. Never believe any thing you may see in the papers about us, and rest assured, that Agamemnon is not to be taken easily: no two decked ship in the world, we flatter ourselves, is able to do it.

' Nov. 15. Agamemnon begins to look miserably without a mizen-mast, and will soon be without a main-mast. I am in the best possible health, yet I don't like to be any longer kicked about, I am tired. The lying in port is misery to me. I have just received a letter from the Viceroy of Corsica, in which are the following flattering expressions to me, I am certain they will give you pleasure, it was on the subject of Corsica being attacked: ' I know that you, who have had such an honourable share in this acquisition, will not be indifferent at the prosperity of the country which you have so much assisted to place under his Majesty's government.'—Whether these are words of course, and to be forgotten, I know not, they are pleasant however for the time.'

Captain Nelson to his Royal Highness the Duke of Clarence.

' Sir: Our transports, which had been detained at Toulon since the time they carried over the garrison of Calvi, arrived on the 22d. No reason was ever given for detaining them; but their sails were taken from them, and during their stay not a man was suffered to go on shore: they were however treated tolerably, until the arrival of Jean Bon St. Andrè, who, to the officer's modest and proper requests, gave insolent answers, the true characteristic of little minds; a generous enemy would have disdained the withholding medical assistance from the unfortunate, whom chance had put in their power. At eight o'clock in the evening of the 20th, their sails were sent alongside, and a message, that if they were not out of the harbour by twelve o'clock next day, they would keep them. The English, poor fellows, wanted no spur to clear them of such wretches; one transport, who got aground, they left behind, and she is not yet arrived. The enemy have fifteen sail of the line ready for sea, with which, they say, they mean to fight our fleet; and as Admiral Hotham sailed from Fiorenzo on the 25th, to go off Toulon with thirteen sail of the line,

they will have the opportunity. As to the event, I have no doubt it will be victory on the side of the English.

'My heart, I assure you, is almost broke to find Agamemnon lying here, little better than a wreck: we hope to get fitted in about three weeks. I own my sincere wish, that the enemy would rest quiet until we are ready for sea, and a gleam of hope sometimes crosses me, that they will. At Toulon, seven sail of the line are to be launched by next March, they get well supplied with timber by the Genoese vessels.'

The following letter was addressed by him during December to Mrs. Nelson, from Leghorn. 'We have our fears for some frigates of ours, on the coast of Barbary; one is arrived who escaped from six frigates, but we have not heard of the other two. The French have sent over, as a present to the Bey of Tunis, a xebec completely armed: thus by trifling presents they keep up their influence, whilst England sends nothing; of course they are the well wishers of one, and dislike the other, and give the enemy every information respecting our cruisers, whilst we are in total ignorance. Dec. 19. Our fleet is arrived, and I shall be ready to go to sea with them again. We sail to-morrow on a cruise, therefore I can only scribble a line to say, I never was better: I have no doubt but good fortune will attend us. Most probably early in the spring we shall be in England, and I really believe peace is not far distant at this moment. God bless you, and give us a happy meeting, says your most affectionate husband, Horatio Nelson.'

On the 20th of December, 1794, Lord Spencer succeeded Lord Chatham at the Admiralty board, the remaining members of which continued the same; but on the 2d of March, 1795, Lord Spencer was reappointed, with the following board under him, Lord Arden, C. S. Pybus, Esq. Sir C. Middleton (now Lord Barham), Lord Hugh Seymour, Philip Stephens, Esq. and Admiral Gambier. Earl Howe, who commanded the Channel fleet, resigned it on account of ill health, on the 22d of May, to Lord Bridport, who afterwards, in the same year, fought a most gallant action with the French fleet off l'Orient. In the Mediterranean, Vice Admiral Hotham had his flag on board the Britannia, 110 guns, Captain J. Holloway; Vice Admiral Goodall, on board the Princess Royal, 98 guns, Captain J. C. Purvis; Vice Admiral Sir Hyde Parker, on board the St. George, 98 guns, Captain T. Foley; and Rear Admiral Linzee, on board the Windsor Castle, 98 guns, Captain J. Gore. On the 19th of January, 1795, orders were issued to seize all Dutch vessels in the British ports, and on the 9th of February a proclamation followed, authorizing the capture of Dutch vessels; but letters of marque and reprisal were not officially given out against the Dutch, until the 15th of September.

Anno Ætat. 37.

The Rev. Edmund Nelson, at the beginning of this year, as was his custom, sent a complimentary letter to his son; who, though at such a distance, did not

forget the poor of Burnham Thorpe. ' Bath, new year's day, 1795. My dear Horatio: I have received your letter with those contents, which are expressive of a benevolent and truly christian heart; and I have endeavoured to distribute your Christmas gift in the best manner I could think of, chiefly in a little warm clothing to the widows and orphans, and very old men: Blessed is the man who considereth the poor and needy. He, who has been marvellously your shield, will still, I hope, and pray, be your protector. Before I see Burnham, I must shake hands with the Agamemnon's Captain, Horatio Nelson, whose friendship, as well as affection, I can rely upon. The prospect that Agamemnon would soon come into an English port, is for the present clouded; yet at a day not far distant it will again appear. Old ships and wearied men must be repaired. Your good wife, whose attention to me I cannot sufficiently praise, is here. Accept our new year's gift, Good Wishes, the poor man's all. God bless you with prosperous events. Farewell! an affectionate father, Edmund Nelson.'

To Mrs. Nelson, dated Fiorenzo, Jan. 17, 1795.

' We have had nothing but gales of wind, but in Agamemnon we mind them not; she is the finest ship I ever sailed in, and, were she a 74, nothing should induce me to leave her whilst the war lasted; for not an hour this war will I, if possible, be out of active service: much as I shall regret being so long parted from you, still we must look beyond the present day, and two or three months may make the difference of every comfort, or otherwise, in our income. I hope we have many happy years to live together, and if we can bring 2000*l.* round, I am determined to purchase some neat cottage, which we should never have occasion to change. As for Josiah, I have no doubt but he will be a comfort to both of us; his understanding is excellent, and his disposition really good: he is a seaman every inch of him. The fleet is on the eve of going to sea again, to cover our reinforcements.'

To his Royal Highness the Duke of Clarence, dated St. Fiorenzo, Jan. 19.

' Sir: Our last cruise from December 21, 1794, to January the 10th, when we arrived in this port, was such a series of storms and heavy seas, as I never before experienced; the fleet were twelve days under storm stay-sails. Our ships, although short of complement, are remarkably healthy, as are the troops in this island. There is already a difference to be perceived in the cultivation of the land since last year. Many hundred acres of pasture are now covered with wheat; and as the Corsicans will find a ready sale for their corn, wine, and oil (the two last articles the French suppressed as much as possible), every year will doubtless increase the growth. The fleet goes to sea on the 22d or 23d, thirteen sail of the line. The French have fifteen in the outer road of Toulon, and fifty sail of large transports ready at Marseilles; therefore it is certain they have some expedition just ready to take place, and I have no doubt but Porto Especia is their object. We

expect soon to be joined by some Neapolitan ships and frigates: I have no idea we shall get much good from them; they are not seamen, and cannot keep the sea beyond a passage. I beg your Royal Highness to believe, that I ever am your most faithful servant.'

To Mrs. Nelson.

'Fiorenzo, January 31. It is with inexpressible pleasure I have received within these two days past your letters, with our father's of January the 1st. I rejoice that my conduct gives you pleasure, and I trust I shall never do any thing which will bring a blush on your face, or on that of any of my friends. It is very true that I have ever served faithfully, and ever has it been my fate to be neglected; but that shall not make me inattentive to my duty. I have pride in doing my duty well, and a self-approbation, which if it is not so lucrative, yet perhaps affords more pleasing sensations. I trust the time will come when I may be rewarded, though really I don't flatter myself it is near. Lord Hood told me that my loss of an eye should be represented to the King, Lord Chatham carried my papers to the King; but now he is out, all hopes will be done away. My eye is grown worse, and is in almost total darkness, and very painful at times; but never mind, I can see very well with the other.

'I believe I shall inform Lord Hood, what I never told him yet, that after every thing was fixed for the attack of Bastia, I had information given me of the enormous number of troops we had to oppose us; but my own honour, Lord Hood's honour, and the honour of our Country, must have all been sacrificed, had I mentioned what I knew. Therefore, you will believe, what must have been my feelings during the whole siege, when I had often proposals made to me by men, now rewarded, to write to Lord Hood to raise the siege. Remember me kindly to our friends at Bristol. I also beg to present my best compliments at Wolterton.'

Captain Nelson, in the following letter to his wife, enters very ably into the political, naval, and commercial advantages of the island of Corsica. 'St. Fiorenzo, Feb. 7, 1795. This day twelve months, my dear Fanny, our troops landed here to attempt the conquest of the island, at least of those parts which the French were in possession of; and however lightly the acquisition of Corsica may be deemed by many in England, yet I take upon me to say, It was a measure founded on great wisdom; and during the war must be ever of the most essential service to us, and very detrimental to our enemies. After the evacuation of Toulon, we had no place whatever of our own for the fleet to anchor in: Tuscany was wavering, and, although since declared for us, yet we are not certain of her alliance from one day to another. The French consul at Leghorn, though not received officially, has never quitted that place, and we know that attempts have been made to get Tuscany again acknowledged by the French as a neutral power; in which case what

it. Corsica has always supplied Toulon with all the strait timbers, beams, decks, and sides for their ships; they are now deprived of that supply, which would have enabled them by this time to have built a small fleet; and besides, the Corsican tar and hemp formed by no means an inconsiderable resource for the dock-yard at Toulon. Moreover, all our trade, with that of our allies, is obliged to make the coasts of this island, the ports of which would have been so full of row gallies, that no commerce could have been carried on; nor could our men of war have prevented the evil, for half the twenty-four hours is calm, when these vessels would take the merchant men, though the whole of the British navy were in sight. So much for the value of Corsica, I have done; the recollection of one short year brings it to my mind. It was Lord Hood's plan, and it was accomplished chiefly by seamen.

'Leghorn, Feb. 25. We arrived here last night after a very bad cruise. This country I understand will in a very few days declare its neutrality: therefore as all powers give up the contest, for what has England to fight? I wish most heartily we had peace, or that all our troops were drawn from the continent, and only a naval war carried on, the war where England can alone make a figure. March 2. The French have one hundred and twenty-four transports full of troops; something they certainly mean to attempt. Tuscany has just concluded a peace, and this port is now open to the French, as well as ourselves. The Berwick is refitted, so we are again fourteen sail of the line, and one [c] Neapolitan ship of the line has joined us, we are therefore strong. I wish Lord Hood would make haste out.—Leghorn, March 6. The Admiral has just got some information which has induced him to go to sea immediately. I sincerely hope it is for a good purpose. We are taken rather suddenly, but are got off pretty tolerably as to order. My health is perfectly good, as is Josiah's. Remember me to my good Father. I have only to pray God to bless you.'

'Agamemnon at sea, March 10, 1795. We are just in sight of the French fleet, and a signal is out for a general chace. We have but little wind, and unfortunately the enemy are in-shore of us; however, I hope the Admiral will allow us to go on, and if the French do not skulk under their batteries, I trust we shall give a good account of them. Whatever may be my fate, I have no doubt in my own mind but that my conduct will be such, as will not bring a blush on the face of my friends: the lives of all are in the hands of Him, who knows best whether to preserve mine or not; to His will do I resign myself. My character and good name are in my own keeping. Life with disgrace is dreadful. A glorious death is to be envied; and if any thing happens to me, recollect that death is a debt we must all pay, and whether now, or a few years hence, can be but of little consequence. God bless you, and believe me ever your most faithful and affectionate husband.'

[c] The Tancredi, 74 guns, Captain Caraccioli.

The following is an account[f] of Admiral Hotham's subsequent action in the Mediterranean, written by Captain Nelson, and beginning from the 8th of March, 1795.

'On Sunday, March 8, at five P. M. the Moselle being near the Gorgona, and making the signal for a fleet to the westward, the Admiral made the one to unmoor, and to prepare to weigh after dark; and on the 9th, at five A. M. the signal was made to weigh, the wind blowing a fine breeze from the eastward, at eight o'clock every ship was without the Melora. The signal was then made for the Inconstant to look out W. S. W. Meleager N. W. and the Tarleton, 14 guns, to proceed to St. Fiorenzo, and order the Berwick to join the fleet. At four P. M. Cape Corse W. S.W. four or five leagues, little wind, the fleet hauled up to the N. W. At half past five the Meleager made the signal for the enemy's fleet, eighteen sail, and at eight the Admiral made the signal that the enemy was supposed to be near. March 10th, at daylight the Tarleton joined, and gave information that a boat came off from Cape Corse, and told them, that the Berwick had been [g]taken on the 7th. About half past nine A. M. the signal was made for all the flag officers, and at ten the Moselle made the signal for a fleet, twenty-five sail, in the N. W. Signal for a general chace in that quarter. All day very light airs, in the evening a light breeze westerly. At half past five, P. M. the Moselle made the signal that the enemy were upon a wind on the starboard tack. At six the signal was made to form in two divisions; stood to the northward until midnight, when the Admiral made the signal to form in the order of battle. March 11th, at daylight nothing in sight; all day light airs, and variable, with a heavy swell from the S. W. In the afternoon saw a French brig to the westward, making signals; it was nearly calm all night, but at times the wind all round the compass.

'March 12th, at day-light, we saw near us the Princess Royal, Fortitude, and Egmont. At the distance of four or five miles to the northward, the Captain, Illustrious, and Tancredi, a Neapolitan 74. To the E. S. E. were a number of ships with the foot of their topsails out of the water, and to the south a number of ships, their hulls just rising out of the water. At six the Egmont made the signal for a strange fleet, and at the same time the Princess Royal made the signal for the enemy's fleet, south. We endeavoured to join the Princess Royal, which we accomplished at nine A. M. Light airs, southerly, the enemy's fleet nearing us very fast, our fleet nearly becalmed, at a quarter past nine, Admiral Goodall made the signal for the ships near to form ahead and astern of him, as most convenient. Admiral Hotham made the same signal, and the Egmont stood from us to join Admiral Hotham, our ships endeavouring to form a junction, the enemy pointing to separate us, but under a very easy sail; they did not appear to me to act as officers who knew any thing of their profession: at noon they began to form a line on the larboard tack, which

[f] From the Nelson papers, entitled, 'Transactions on board his Majesty's ship Agamemnon, and of the fleet, as seen and known, by Captain Nelson.'

[g] By the French fleet.

they never accomplished, at two P. M. they bore down in a line ahead, nearly before the wind, but not more than nine sail formed, they then hauled the wind on the larboard tack, about three miles from us, the wind southerly, Genoa light-house N. N. E. about five leagues, saw the town very plain. At half past three P. M. joined Admiral Hotham, who made the signal to prepare for battle; the body of the enemy's fleet about three or four miles distant. At six minutes past four, the signal was made to form the order of battle on the larboard tack, and at half past four, for each ship to carry a light during the night, at sixteen minutes past five, for each ship to take suitable stations for their mutual support, and to engage the enemy as they came up. Our fleet at this time was tolerably well formed, and with a fine easterly breeze, which, had it lasted half an hour, would certainly have led us through the enemy's fleet about four ships from the van ship which were separated from the centre about one mile. At three quarters past five the fleet hoisted their colours, and at dark, the wind came fresh from the westward. At fifty-five minutes past six, the signal was made to wear together; we had a fresh breeze all night, and stood to the southward, as did the enemy.

'March 13th, at daylight, the enemy's fleet appeared in the S. W. distant about three or four leagues, with fresh breezes. Signal for a general chace. At eight A. M. a French ship of the line carried away her main and fore top-masts; at a quarter past nine the Inconstant frigate fired at the disabled ship, but receiving many shot, was obliged to leave her. At ten A. M. tacked, and stood towards the disabled ship, and two other ships of the line: the disabled ship proved to be the Ca Ira of 84 guns,[h] the two others were the Sans Culottes, 120 guns, and the Jean Barras, 74 guns, we could have fetched the Sans Culottes by passing the Ca Ira to windward, but, on looking round, I saw no ship of the line within several miles to support me; the Captain was the nearest on our lee quarter. I then determined to direct my attention to the Ca Ira, who at a quarter past ten was taken in tow by a frigate, the Sans Culottes and Jean Barras keeping about gun-shot distance on her weather bow. At twenty minutes past ten the Ca Ira began firing her stern chaces; at half past ten the Inconstant passed us to leeward, standing for the fleet: as we drew up with the enemy, so true did the Ca Ira fire her stern guns, that not a shot missed some part of the ship, and latterly the masts were struck by every shot, which obliged me to open our fire a few minutes sooner than I wished, for it had been my intention to have touched her stern, before a shot was fired: but seeing plainly, from the situation of the two fleets, the impossibility of being supported, and, in case any accident happened to our masts, the certainty of being severely cut up, I resolved to fire as soon as I thought we had a certainty of hitting. Accordingly at a quarter before eleven A. M. being within one

[h] Previously called the Couronne. French weight, 36, 24, 12 pounders; English, 42, 27, 14 pounders; 1300 men. This ship was, in 1796, accidentally burnt in Fiorenzo Bay.

hundred yards of the Ca Ira's stern, I ordered the helm to be put a starboard, and the driver and after-sails to be brailed up, and shivered, and, as the ship fell off, we gave her our whole broadside, each gun double shotted, and scarcely a shot appeared to miss. The instant all had been fired, braced up our after-yards, put the helm a-port, and stood after her again. This manœuvre we practised until one P. M. never allowing the Ca Ira to get a single gun from either side to fire on us; they attempted some of their after guns, but all went far ahead of us: at this time the Ca Ira was a perfect wreck, her sails hanging in tatters, mizen top-mast, mizen top-sail, and cross-jack yards, shot away. At one P. M. the frigate hove in stays, and got the Ca Ira round. N. B. I observed the guns of the Ca Ira to be much elevated, doubtless laid so for our rigging, and for distant shots; and when she opened her fire in passing, the elevation not being altered, almost every shot passed over us, very few striking our hull. The captain of the Ca Ira told Admiral Goodall and myself afterwards, that we had killed and wounded 110 men, and had so cut his rigging to pieces, that it was impossible for him to get up other top-masts.

'As the frigate first, and then the Ca Ira, got their guns to bear, each opened her fire, and we passed within half-pistol shot; as soon as our after guns ceased to bear, the ship was hove in stays, keeping as she came round a constant fire, and the ship was worked with as much exactness as if she had been turning into Spithead. On getting round, I saw the Sans Culottes, who had before wore, with many of the enemy's ships, under our lee-bow, and standing to pass to leeward of us under top-gallant sails. At half past one P. M. the Admiral made the signal for the van ships to join him. I instantly bore away, and prepared to set all our sails; but the enemy, having saved their ship, hauled close to the wind, and opened their fire so distant as to do us no harm, not a shot, I believe, hitting. Our sails and rigging were very much cut, and we had many shot in our hull, and between wind and water; but, wonderful to say, only seven men were wounded. The enemy, as they passed our nearest ships, opened their fire, yet not a shot, as I saw, reached any ship except the Captain, who had a few through her sails.—We were employed until evening in shifting our top-sails, and splicing our rigging; at dark we were in our station. The signal was then made for each ship to carry a light. What little wind we had was south westerly all night; stood to the westward, as did the enemy.

'March 14th, at daylight, we were taken aback with a fine breeze at N. W. which gave us the weather gage, whilst the enemy's fleet kept the southerly wind. Saw the Ca Ira, and a line of battle ship who had her in tow, about three miles and a half from us, and the body of the enemy's fleet about five miles distant. At a quarter past six A. M. the signal was made for the line of battle S. E. and N. W. and at forty minutes past six, for the Captain and Bedford to attack the enemy. At seven A. M. signal for the Bedford to engage close, Bedford's signal repeated for close action; at five minutes past seven, for

the Captain to engage close, the Captain's and Bedford's signals repeated. At this time the shot from the enemy reached us, but from a great distance. At a quarter past seven the signal was made for the fleet to come to the wind on the larboard tack; this signal threw us and the Princess Royal to leeward of the Illustrious, Courageux, and Britannia. At twenty minutes past seven the Britannia hailed, and ordered me to go to the assistance of the Captain and Bedford; made all sail, Captain lying like a log on the water, all her sails and rigging being shot away, Bedford on a wind on the larboard tack. At half past seven the signal made to annul coming to the wind on the larboard tack; at thirty-five minutes past seven, signal for the Illustrious and Courageux to make more sail; forty minutes past seven, the same signal repeated; forty-two minutes past seven, Bedford to wear, and Courageux to get into her station. At this time I passed the Captain, hailed Admiral Goodall, and told him Admiral Hotham's orders, and desired to know if I should go ahead of him? Admiral Goodall desired me to keep close to his stern. The Illustrious and Courageux took their stations ahead of the Princess Royal, the Britannia placed herself astern of me, and the Tancredi lay on the Britannia's lee-quarter. At eight A. M. the enemy began to pass our line to windward, and the Ca Ira and le Censeur were on our lee-side; therefore the Illustrious, Courageux, Princess Royal, and Agamemnon, were obliged to fight on both sides of the ship. The enemy's fleet kept the southerly wind, and this enabled them to preserve their distance, which was very great. From eight to ten we continued engaging on both sides, about three quarters past eight the Illustrious lost her main and mizen-masts, at a quarter past nine the Courageux lost her main and mizen-masts, at twenty-five minutes past nine the Ca Ira lost all her masts, and fired very little, at ten le Censeur lost her main-mast. At five minutes past ten they both struck, and I sent Lieutenant George Andrews, as gallant an officer as ever stepped a quarter-deck, to board them, who hoisted English colours, and carried their captains, by order of Admiral Hotham, to Admiral Goodall on board the Princess Royal. By computation the Ca Ira is supposed to have about 350 killed and wounded[i] both days, and le Censeur about 250 killed and wounded. From the lightness of the air of wind, the fleets were a very long time in passing each other, and it was past one P. M. before all firing ceased, at which time the enemy crowded all possible sail to the westward, our ships lying with their heads to the south east and east. Our fleet had 1090 guns, and 7650 men; the French had 1174 guns and 16,900 men.'

Captain Nelson's letter to his wife, on that day, is nearly a concise copy of the above narrative. He expressed a wish that the victory had been pursued, and informed her, that Josiah and Hoste, with his nephew young Bolton, had been his aid de camps. On the

[i] The numbers of killed and wounded in our fleet were, 73 killed, 272 wounded; amongst the latter were Lieutenants Rathbone and Miles; and the Masters Wilson, Blackburn, and Hawker.

15th of March, in writing to his Royal Highness the Duke of Clarence, he, as usual, took that opportunity to mention the gallantry of some of his brother officers. ‘ Our fleet closed with Ca Ira and Censeur, who defended themselves in the most gallant manner, the former lost 400, the latter 350 men; the rest of the enemy's ships behaved very ill. Martini the admiral, and St. Michel the commissioner, were on board a frigate. The orders of the French were to defeat us, and to retake Corsica: I believe they will in no respect obey their orders. Every ship fired red hot shot, but we now know, from experience, they are useless on board a ship. Frederick behaved exceedingly well, as did Montgomery in the Courageux, and Reeve in the Captain, and I must not forget Goodall, who is as gallant an officer as ever lived. These ships being the van, had more than their share of the action. Every officer, I am sure, would have been happy, had the enemy given them equal opportunities. The French bore away towards Toulon in the afternoon, and are now out of sight.’

The exaggerated account which our enemy published of this action, was worthy of the French nation; the following is a short extract from it. ‘ An Event which the intrepidity of our sailors could not overcome, alone rendered the victory uncertain: A vexatious calm bridled the courage of the republican squadron, whilst two of their ships were obliged to sustain by themselves the whole fire of the enemy; on the other hand, a squall had the day before parted the Sans Culottes and Mercure from the squadron. In spite of this unequal situation, the enemy have suffered such considerable losses, that the beach is covered with wrecks known to belong to the English squadron. Authentic reports have convinced us of this, their distress was such, that notwithstanding the superiority of their number, and the wind being in their favour, they could not break the good order of battle in which our ships retreated. This declaration will be printed, published, and stuck up in the streets, and sent to the commander in chief of the army, who will have it inserted in orders, and distributed to all the troops. It will be dispatched by a courier extraordinary to the Citizen Villars, envoy from the French republic to Genoa, who will be charged to make it there as public as possible.’

In writing to Captain Locker from Porto Especia, March 21, the peculiar situation in which Admiral Hotham was placed, is noticed by Nelson with his usual liberality. ‘ You will have heard of our brush with the French fleet, a battle it cannot be called, as the enemy would not give us an opportunity of closing with them; if they had, I have no doubt, from the zeal and gallantry that was endeavoured to be shewn by each individual, we should have obtained a most glorious conquest.—Admiral Hotham has had much to contend with: a fleet half manned, and in every respect inferior to the enemy; Italy calling him to her defence; our newly acquired kingdom (Corsica) crying out might and main; our reinforcements and convoy hourly expected; and all to be done with a force

by no means adequate to these services. The French were sent out as to a certain conquest; their Orders were positive, to search out our fleet, and to destroy us, of which they had no doubt, if we presumed to come to action with them; their troops were then to have been landed, and Corsica retaken. However, thank God, all is reversed. I firmly believe they never would have fought us, had not the Ca Ira lost her top-masts, which enabled Agamemnon and Inconstant to close in with her, and so to cut her up, that she could not get a top-mast aloft during the night, which caused our little brush the next day. Providence in a most miraculous manner preserved my poor brave fellows, who worked the ship in manœuvring about the Frenchman's stern and quarters, with an astonishing exactness and coolness. The action never ceased for upwards of two hours.

'I am flattered by receiving the approbation of my own fleet, as well as the handsomest testimony from our enemies. A gale of wind came on two days after the action, which forced us in here, and most unluckily drove the Illustrious on shore, where she lies in great danger.[k] We sail to-morrow for Leghorn, to join Blenheim and Bombay Castle, when the Admiral will instantly put to sea to find these crippled fellows, for some went off towed by frigates, and some without bowsprits; the Sans Culottes is in Genoa, others are in Vado Bay. I beg my best and kindest remembrances to all your family. Josiah is a fine young man, and a brave fellow. Believe me ever your most faithful friend.'

Admiral Hotham's letter to the Admiralty has been repeatedly before the public, it was dated the 16th of March, and was published in the Gazette on the 16th of April. After a general commendation of the officers in his squadron, he concluded with saying, 'It is an act of justice, to express the sense I entertain of the services of Captain J. Holloway of the Britannia: during a long friendship with that officer, I have had repeated proofs of his personal and professional talents, and on this recent demand for experience and information, his zeal afforded me the most beneficial and satisfactory assistance.'

Captain Nelson was disappointed in his sanguine hopes of falling in with some of the enemy's crippled ships, that had not been able to gain their ports, and his zealous mind, irritated at their escape, thus in imagination fought the late action over again, with the command vested in himself. 'Fiorenzo, April 1.[l] I am absolutely, my dearest Fanny, at this moment in the horrors, fearing, from our idling here, that the active enemy may send out two or three sail of the line, and some frigates, to intercept our convoy which is momentarily expected. In short, I wish to be an Admiral, and in the command of the English fleet; I should very soon either do much, or be ruined. My disposition cannot bear tame and slow measures. Sure I am, had I commanded our fleet on the 14th, that either the whole French fleet would have graced my triumph, or I should have been in a

[k] The Illustrious, 74, built in 1789, was lost on the rocks near Avenza. [l] Viscountess Nelson's collection.

confounded scrape.—I went on board Admiral Hotham as soon as our firing grew slack in the van, and the Ca Ira and Censeur had struck, to propose to him leaving our two crippled ships, the two prizes, and four frigates, to themselves, and to pursue the enemy; but he, much cooler than myself, said, 'We must be contented, we have done very well.' Now, had we taken ten sail, and had allowed the eleventh to escape, when it had been possible to have got at her, I could never have called it well done. Goodall backed me, I got him to write to the Admiral, but it would not do: we should have had such a day, as I believe the annals of England never produced. I verily think if the Admiral can get hold of them once more, and he does but get us close enough, that we shall have the whole fleet. Nothing can stop the courage of English Seamen.

'I may venture to tell you, but as a secret, that I have a mistress given to me, no less a personage than the goddess Bellona; so say the French verses made on me, and in them I am so covered with laurels, that you would hardly find my sallow face. At one period I am *the dear Nelson, the amiable Nelson, the fiery Nelson;* however nonsensical these expressions are, they are better than censure, and we are all subject and open to flattery. The French Admiral is to be tried, and some of the Captains are under arrest; it is reported that the Captain of the Sans Culottes has run away. The Toulonese will not allow the French fleet to enter their port, but make them remain in Hieres Bay, telling them, 'To get out and execute their former orders, or never to enter the ports of the republic.' They were very much alarmed in Corsica at the appearance of the enemy's fleet. So certain were the French of defeating us, that the mayor and all the municipality of Bastia were on board the Sans Culottes, to resume their stations.'

Capt. Nelson to his Royal Highness the Duke of Clarence, dated St. Fiorenzo, April 16, 1795.

'Sir: The arrival of a reinforcement from Brest, at Toulon, of six sail of the line, two frigates, and two cutters, has, for the present moment, rather altered the complexion of affairs in this country; but I have no doubt administration has taken care to send us at least an equal number of ships, although, unfortunately, they are not yet arrived. The enemy have now actually ready to sail from Toulon twenty sail of the line, and two sail of the line are launched, and will be ready in fourteen days from this date. We have ready for sea, and in perfect good order, fourteen sail of the line; five three-deckers, six seventy-fours, and two sixty-fours, English, one seventy-four Neapolitan. The Courageux is sent for from Leghorn, and will be ready in about three weeks, as will the Censeur, who is to be manned, if necessary, to fight the enemy, superior as they are, out of the frigates; so that we shall be sixteen sail of the line, a force by no means possible for the enemy to injure. The late Captain of the Vengeur commands the ships from Brest, and all our prisoners told us of this reinforcement; but it was not thought right to believe them. Should the attempts of the enemy be against this island, I have no doubt but they will

fail, provided the Corsicans are true to their Country; a doctrine and practice, I own, not much in fashion in the present day: but I believe the Corsicans are not yet civilised enough to adopt the contrary, they love their Country. I own myself to be rather of opinion, that the attempt of the enemy will be against Italy; their fleet to anchor in Telamon Bay, and their troops to land at Orbitella, about sixty-five miles from Rome, just on the frontiers of the Tuscan dominions. May health and every blessing attend your Royal Highness.'

With his accustomed zeal to be foremost on all occasions, where the service of his Country required great exertion, Captain Nelson on the 16th of April wrote to Sir Gilbert Elliot, the Viceroy of Corsica, that if an attack should be made on that island, and Admiral Hotham should judge it most advisable to remain at anchor in the defence of it, and no other person should be thought of as preferable, he then begged leave to offer himself for the command of such seamen, as might be landed.

On the 24th of April he again wrote to the Duke of Clarence, dated 'Agamemnon at sea, off Cape Corse. Sir: We sailed a week past from Fiorenzo, and are to call off Minorca to know what our allies, the Spaniards, intend to do with twenty-one sail of the line, which are lying in Mahon. Contrary winds have kept us here, and every moment we expect the enemy's fleet to heave in sight. We are thirteen English sail of the line, and two Neapolitan seventy-fours, one of which joined this morning; and, I am sorry to say, was matter of exultation to an English fleet: the Courageux is not yet ready to join us.

'I hope, and believe, if we only get three sail from England, that we shall prevent this fleet of the enemy from doing further service in the Mediterranean, notwithstanding the red hot shot and combustibles, of which they have had a fair trial, and found them useless. They believed that we should give them no quarter; and it was with some difficulty we found the combustibles, which are fixed in a skeleton like a carcass, they turn into a liquid, and water will not extinguish it. They say the Convention sent them from Paris, but that they did not use any of them, only hot shot.'

The following letters to Mrs. Nelson give a retrospective detail of naval operations in the Mediterranean to the end of April. 'St. Fiorenzo, April 12. Rest assured, my dear Fanny, you are never absent from my thoughts.—If the folks will give me the Colonelcy of Marines, I shall be satisfied; but I fear my interest is not equal to get it: although I will never allow that any man whatever has a claim superior to myself. We have just got the thanks of the Corsican[m] Parliament and Viceroy, for our gallant and good conduct on the 13th and

[m] Dated March 24th. Extract. 'All his Majesty's faithful subjects in this kingdom acknowledge on this successful occasion, the powerful munificence of the King, and that they are in a similar degree sensible of the signal merits of the Vice Admiral. Resolved that the thanks of the house, &c Signed, Giafferi, President. Muselli, Secretary.'

14th day of March; which they say, and truly, has saved them from an invasion. The Viceroy's private letter[n] to me has a very flattering compliment, that cannot but be pleasing to you: 'I certainly consider the business of the 13th of March, as a very capital feature in the late successful contest with the French fleet; and the part which the Agamemnon had in it, must be felt by every one to be one of the circumstances that gave lustre to this event, and rendered it not only useful, but peculiarly honourable to the British arms. I need not assure you of the pleasure with which I so constantly see your name foremost in every thing that is creditable and serviceable; nor of my sincere regard and affection.'—So far all hands agree in giving me those praises, which cannot but be comfortable to me to the last moment of my life. The time of my being left out here by Lord Hood, I may call well spent; had I been absent, how mortified should I now be. What has happened may never happen to any one again, that only one ship of the line out of fourteen, should get into action with the French fleet, and for so long a time as two hours and a half, and with such a ship as the Ca Ira. Had I been supported, I should certainly have brought the Sans Culottes to battle, a most glorious prospect. A brave man runs no more risk than a coward, and Agamemnon to a miracle has suffered scarcely any thing; three or four of our wounded are dead, the others are in a fair way of doing well. We have got accounts of the French fleet, the troops are landed, and their expedition is given up; the ships have suffered much, many at this time are shifting their masts. Our fleet was never in better order. My kindest remembrances to my Father.

'Leghorn, April 28. We have been trying these ten days past to get to the westward, to join our expected reinforcements from England; but the winds have been so contrary that we every day lost ground. Yesterday, to our surprise, our storeships and victuallers from Gibraltar arrived in the fleet, their escape from the enemy has been wonderful, and, had we lost them, our game was up here. This I suppose has induced the Admiral to bear up for this place, and by it, we shall get the Courageux ready for sea.'

In writing to Capt. Locker from Leghorn on the 4th of May, he expressed his astonishment that reinforcements had not yet arrived from England: 'Surely the people at home,' added Capain Nelson, 'have forgotten us; and yet the six ships of the enemy left Brest last December, with the grand fleet, and have been arrived six weeks in Toulon harbour. Had we not fortunately so much crippled the masts of the enemy in the action, we should have been left here in a very inferior state. The King of Naples has sent us one more 74, and the Courageux will be finished to-morrow, or we should only have fourteen sail of the line to twenty, now we shall be sixteen: but if, as reported by the French minister at Genoa, the preliminaries of peace are actually signed with Spain, we shall of course lose

[n] Dated Bastia, April 6th. The remainder of the letter is highly complimentary to Lieutenant G. Andrews, and expressed Sir Gilbert's wishes to serve him, in consequence of Captain Nelson's request.

our Neapolitan friends, which in our present state would be a very heavy stroke upon us. Reports of this day say, that the French fleet sailed on the 1st of May from Toulon, eighteen or twenty sail of the line; if only the former, I have no doubt but we shall obtain a complete victory, if the latter, we cannot expect it; and what is worse, a battle without a complete victory would be destruction to us, for we cannot get another mast this side Gibraltar. But Providence will, I trust, order all for the best.

'I flatter myself, if the promotion of flags comes very low, I shall stand a fair chance for the marines, if services in this war may be allowed a claim. One hundred and ten days I have been actually engaged at sea, and on shore, against the enemy; three actions against ships; two against Bastia in my ship; four boat actions; and two villages taken, and twelve sail of vessels burnt. I do not know that any one has done more. I have had the comfort to be always applauded by my Commanders in Chief, but never to be rewarded; and, what is more mortifying, for service in which I have been slightly wounded, others have been praised, who at the time were actually in bed, far from the scene of action. But we shall, I hope, talk my opinion of men and measures over the fire next winter at Greenwich.'

The Rev. Edmund Nelson to his Son, dated Bath, May 5, 1795.

'I can now, my dear Horatio, address you in the language of our University, *Bene et optime fecesti*; and I do most heartily rejoice at your acquisition of a fresh never-fading laurel, obtained in a consciousness of having discharged the duties of your station, and by a religious sense of that overruling Providence, who maketh all things work together for good to those who love Him. It is said with confidence, that Lord Hood will not go to the Mediterranean; having reached St. Helen's, he is returned to Spithead. This is the news of the day. God bless you. Farewell.'

The report which Mr. Nelson had heard respecting Lord Hood was correct. This experienced veteran had remonstrated with the Admiralty respecting the smallness of the reinforcement, which he was ordered to take out to the Mediterranean, feeling it his duty to do so, in consequence of the great responsibility as annexed to his high situation in the service.

The thanks of both Houses had been voted on the 10th, and 14th of April, to Admiral Hotham, and the officers, seamen, and marines under his command. On the 8th of May the fleet sailed from Leghorn, and cruised in anxious expectation of the reinforcement from England. The vast importance of our preserving a superior fleet in the Mediterranean, though felt and acknowledged by such of our naval officers as are best acquainted with that station, has never been sufficiently impressed on the attention of government. Nelson to the last moment of his existence felt and lamented this error. In writing to his wife, when off Minorca, May 29th, he mentioned the subject. 'As yet we have no

accounts of Lord Hood's having actually sailed from St. Helen's; and what they can mean by sending him with only five sail of the line, is truly astonishing; but all men are alike, and we in this country do not find any amendment, or alteration, from the old Board of Admiralty: they should know that half the ships in this fleet require to go to England, and that long ago they ought to have reinforced us. At this moment our operations are at a stand, for want of ships to support the Austrians in getting possession of the sea coast of the King of Sardinia; and behold, our Admiral does not feel himself equal to show himself, much less to give assistance in their operations.—June 7th. We have been off here very nearly a month, expecting first Lord Hood, then Admiral Dickson. We have lost much by Lord Hood's going to England, and much more probably by his not returning. June 15th. Yesterday Admiral Man joined us, with the squadron from England. Lord Hood inclosed me a copy of a letter from Lord Spencer about me, acknowledging my pretensions to favour and distinction, when proper opportunities offer. This letter was written before the account of our action had arrived; that may throw an additional weight into the scale for me. However I hope to save my pay, which, with a little addition, will buy us a very small cottage, where I shall be as happy as in a house as large as Holkham.'

On the 18th of June, he wrote as follows to Captain Locker, whilst off Minorca: 'We are now waiting here for the convoy's arrival from Gibraltar, and as the wind hangs easterly, it may be some time before they arrive. The French say, they will fight us again, provided we are not more than two or three ships superior. I can hardly believe they are such fools: pray God they may. There is nothing but squabbles at Toulon: one party is in possession of the great fort la Malgue; the Jacobins, of the arsenal and town. The fleet came to sea for two days, but is gone back, and has joined the Jacobins. The Austrians and Piedmontese are only waiting for our getting to the eastward, to take Vado Bay, which will be a fine anchorage for us. We have our wants and our wishes in the fleet, but upon the whole we are much more comfortable than the home fleet, and our people are very healthy. The scurvy is not known. From the little I have seen of Mr. Charnock's book,° I think it a good thing, it will perpetuate the name of many a brave officer, whose services would otherwise be forgotten.'

Captain Nelson to Mrs. Nelson, dated St. Fiorenzo, July 1, 1795.

'Our convoy having joined us on the 22d, we made sail for this port, and arrived all safe on the 29th, so far we are fortunate. The French fleet of seventeen sail of the line are out, but only to exercise their men, at least our good Admiral says so; however they may make a dash, and pick up something. We have Zealous, 74, and three ordnance

° Mr. Charnock, who is lately dead, devoted the greater part of his life to naval literature; and amongst other works published that, to which Captain Nelson here alludes, in five volumes, consisting of Naval Biography from 1660 to 1793; and also a concise life of Lord Nelson.

ships expected daily from Gibraltar. I hope they will not look out for them. Two French frigates were for ten days very near us, as we are informed by neutral vessels. I requested the Admiral to let me go after them; but he would not part with a ship of the line. When the fleet bore away for this place, he sent two small frigates, Dido and Lowestoffe, to look into Toulon; and the day after they parted from us, they fell in with the two frigates. It was a very handsome done thing in the Captains, who are Towry and Middleton,[p] and much credit must be due to these officers, and their ship's company. Thank God, the superiority of the British navy remains, and I hope ever will: I feel quite delighted at the event. Had our present fleet but one good chance at the enemy, on my conscience, without exaggeration, I believe that if the Admiral would let us pursue, we should take them all.'

The little notice which his sanguine mind imagined had been taken of his arduous services, at the sieges of Bastia and Calvi, weighed at this time considerably on his thoughts. The additional expence which voluntary offers to serve on shore had occasioned, certainly deserved some remuneration: during four months of hard service in that hot climate, all his ship furniture,[q] owing to the movements of a camp, was totally lost. Accordingly, on the 8th of April, he addressed a letter to the Hon. W. Windham, then Secretary at War, in which Nelson said, 'I have been waiting for Lord Hood's arrival in these seas, that his Lordship might have supported my application for an allowance, which I believe, from my present length of service on shore, will be considered as just.' After recapitulating his various and fatiguing services at the sieges of Bastia and Calvi, he added, 'I trust I do not ask an improper thing, when I request, that the same allowance may be made to me, as would be made to a land officer of my rank; which, situated as I was, would be that

[p] This was one of the most gallant engagements of that period. Admiral Hotham's official letter to the Admiralty, enclosing one from the senior officer, Captain Towry, is dated June 30th. The late Captain Buckoll was first Lieutenant of the Dido. The following short account of this action was sent home in a letter by the late Captain George Clarke, who, as first Lieutenant of the Lowestoffe, considerably distinguished himself. 'On the 24th of June, 1795, the Dido, a little eight and twenty, of nine pounders, and the Lowestoffe, a two and thirty, of twelve pounders, had to contend with the superior force of La Minerve, forty-two eighteen pounders, and L'Artemise, of thirty-six twelve pounders; each having on board 350 men. The Dido had 200, the Lowestoffe 220. Can you credit our having gained a complete victory, with such odds against us? and further, that the Lowestoffe had not a man hurt. The Dido had six men killed, and twenty-one wounded; she was the Commodore, and led on; the French Commodore ran aboard her, in consequence of which the Dido's mizen-mast was carried away; and, in this close engagement, the chief part of the men abovementioned were killed and wounded. At this juncture the Lowestoffe came up, and raked the Frenchman; the Dido still at him on the lee-bow. Away went Minerve's fore-mast, bowsprit, main top-mast, and mizen-mast. The other fellow, a most abominable coward, after fighting a little, sheered off, and the Lowestoffe made after him; but, owing to superior sailing, he unfortunately got away. In the mean time, the Dido, who had hauled off to repair damages, made our signal to return, so Lowestoffe tacked, and stood again towards Minerve; when we favoured her so plentifully with shot, that she ordered the national flag to be struck, what three hearty cheers we gave?'

[q] From his own acknowledgment.

of a Brigadier General, or else, my additional expences paid me. I have stated my case, Sir, plainly, and leave it to your wisdom to act in it, as is proper.'—Not to interrupt the subsequent narrative, Mr. Windham's answer is in this place subjoined, dated War-Office, 21st July, 1795. 'Sir: I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 8th of last month, and to acquaint you, that no pay has ever been issued under the direction, or to the knowledge of this office, to officers of the Navy serving with the Army on shore.'

The zeal and patriotism of Nelson were, however, in the meantime, rewarded by a particular mark of his Sovereign's approbation, which he had long hoped for, rather than expected. This intelligence was immediately conveyed to him by his father, who, in the summer of the preceding year, 1794, misled by the reports of the day, had then also written to congratulate his son on the event. 'My dear Horatio: I have this moment (on the King's birth-day) received full authority to say, that you are appointed one of the Colonels of Marines, vacated by the promotion to flags. God bless you with all the prosperity this pleasing and much wished-for event can bring with it. It marks your public conduct as highly honourable, and worthy of the notice of your Country: it is the general voice that it was well and properly given. How eminently does such a situation appear above whatever is obtained by interest or bribery. Myself and your good wife are full of joy, and we often amuse ourselves in fixing on the cottage retirement, which you are looking forward to. Lord Hood, you will find, is totally retired; yet I verily believe he came forward as your friend in this business. All allow him judgment, as well as long experience in his profession. I have only to add, that so affectionate a Son merits all that a kind Father can bestow, his fervent prayers that God may long preserve him. Farewell, my dear son. Edmund Nelson.'

This promotion of flag officers was dated June the 1st, and on the same day the alteration was made known in the naval uniform, which now distinguishes the rank of officers by epaulets, and other suitable insignia. Captain Nelson's appointment to the Marines was announced officially on the 6th of June, but his commission was dated on the 1st of that month; the whole being graciously intended by his Majesty, to give additional honour to the commemoration of Admiral Lord Howe's victory. The other Captains appointed to the Marines on this occasion, were the Hon. Thomas Pakenham, and the Hon. George Berkeley.

On the 4th of July, Admiral Hotham informed the Hon. J. Trevor, our Minister at Turin, that in consequence of his excellency's letter, and of a subsequent one from General de Vins, who commanded the Austrian and Sardinian armies, to Mr. Brame our consul at Genoa, Captain Nelson had been dispatched in the Agamemnon, with a squadron of frigates, being an officer of approved abilities, that he might give every possible assistance to

the prosecution of that General's operations against the enemy. The Admiral's dispatches to the board, contain an account of the unexpected return of Nelson's squadron, and the sudden appearance of the French fleet.

Admiral Hotham to Evan Nepean, Esq. dated Britannia at sea, July 14, 1795.

'Sir: you will be pleased to inform their Lordships, that in consequence of General de Vins' letter of the 28th to Consul Brame, I thought it advisable to send a small squadron of ships, as early as possible, to give countenance to the General's operations, although the reports as to his success were extremely various; and for that purpose I dispatched on the 4th instant, from St. Fiorenzo, the ships named in the margin,[p] under the orders of Captain Nelson; whom I directed to call off Genoa for the Inconstant and Southampton frigates that were lying there, and to take them with him, if, from the intelligence he might obtain, he should find it necessary.

'On the morning of the 7th, I was much surprised to learn, that the above squadron was seen in the offing, returning into St. Fiorenzo, pursued by the enemy's fleet; which by General de Vins' letter, the latest account I had received, I had reason to suppose was certainly in Toulon. Immediately, on the enemy's appearance, I made every preparation to put to sea after them; and notwithstanding the unpleasant predicament we were in, most of the ships being in the midst of watering and refitting, I was yet enabled, by the zeal and extraordinary exertions of the officers and men, to get the whole of the fleet under weigh that night, as soon as the land wind permitted us to move; from which time we neither saw nor heard any thing of the enemy until the 12th, when, being to the eastward, and within sight of the Hieres Islands, two vessels were spoken with by Captain Hotham of the Cyclops, and Captain Boys of la Fleche, who acquainted them that they had seen the French fleet not many hours before, to the southward of those islands. Upon which information I made the signal before night to prepare for battle, as an indication to our fleet that the enemy was near. Yesterday at daybreak we discovered them to leeward of us, on the larboard tack, consisting of twenty-three sail, seventeen of which proved to be of the line: the wind at this time blew very hard from the W. N. W. attended with a heavy swell, and six of our ships had to bend main top-sails, in the room of those that were split by the gale in the course of the night.

'I caused the fleet, however, to be formed with the utmost expedition on the larboard line of bearing, carrying all sail possible to preserve that order, and to keep the wind of the enemy; in the hopes of cutting them off from the land, from which we were only five leagues distant. At eight o'clock, finding they had no other view but that of endeavouring to get from us, I made the signal for a general chace, and for the ships to take suitable

[p] Agamemnon, Meleager, Ariadne, Moselle, and Mutine cutter.

stations for their mutual support, and to engage the enemy, as arriving up with them in succession. But the baffling winds, and vexatious calms, that render every naval operation in this country doubtful, soon afterwards took place, and allowed a few only of our van ships to get up with the enemy's rear about noon; which they attacked so warmly, that in the course of an hour after, we had the satisfaction to find one of their sternmost ships, viz. l'Alcide, of 74 guns, had struck. The rest of their fleet, favoured by a shift of wind to the eastward, that placed them now to windward of us, had got so far into Frejus Bay, whilst the major part of ours was becalmed in the offing, that it became impossible for any thing further to be effected; and those of our ships which were engaged had approached so near the shore, that I judged it proper to call them off by signal.'

The whole of this letter having been repeatedly before the public, it is only necessary to add, that l'Alcide having caught fire in her foretop, before she was taken possession of, blew up with a most awful explosion; and although the boats of the fleet were immediately dispatched to save the crew, it was conjectured that between three and four hundred of them perished. On board our different ships that were engaged, ten were killed, and twenty-four wounded. Captain Nelson in a letter to his Royal Highness the Duke of Clarence, dated July 15, 1795, gave a further description of what had passed. 'Sir: Not having had any signification to the contrary, I still presume to suppose, that an account from me of the operations of this fleet is acceptable to your Royal Highness. The Agamemnon was sent from Fiorenzo with a small squadron of frigates to co-operate with the Austrian General de Vins, in driving the French out of the Riviera of Genoa, at the beginning of July. On the 6th, I fell in with the French fleet of seventeen sail of the line and six frigates; they chased me twenty-four hours, and close over to St. Fiorenzo, but our fleet could not get out to my assistance: however on the 8th in the morning, Admiral Hotham sailed with twenty-three sail of the line, and on the 13th at daylight, got sight of the enemy, about six leagues south of the Hieres Islands. A signal was then made for a general chace. At noon the Victory, Admiral Man, with Captain, Agamemnon, Cumberland, Defence, and Culloden, got within gunshot of the enemy; when the west wind failed us, and threw us into a line abreast. A light air soon afterwards coming from the eastward, we laid our heads to the northward, as did the enemy, and the action commenced.

'It was impossible for us to close with them, and the smoke from their ships and our own made a perfect calm; whilst they, being to windward, drew in shore, our fleet was becalmed six or seven miles to the westward. The Blenheim and Audacious got up to us during the firing. The Alcide struck about half past two, and many others were almost in as bad a state; but she soon afterwards took fire, and only two hundred men were saved out of her. At half past three the Agamemnon and Cumberland were closing with an 80 gun ship, with a flag, the Berwick, and Heureux, when Admiral Hotham thought it right

to call us out of action, the wind being directly into the gulf of Frejus, where the enemy anchored after dark. Thus has ended our second meeting with these gentry. In the forenoon we had every prospect of taking every ship in the fleet; and at noon, it was almost certain we should have had the six near ships. The French Admiral, I am sure, is not a wise man, nor an officer; he was undetermined whether to fight, or to run away: however I must do him the justice to say, he took the wisest step at last. Indeed I believe this Mediterranean fleet is as fine a one, as ever graced the ocean.

'John Holloway is Captain of the fleet, a good man. The enemy will have still twenty-one sail at sea in a month, but I do not believe they can ever beat us in their present undisciplined state; the prisoners we have seen are stanch royalists, and I really believe the war is almost at an end. I am going to Genoa, to see Mr. Drake, our Minister, and to consult about what assistance the Admiral can afford the Austrians in the Riviera of Genoa. We have just got accounts of Vado Bay being taken from the French.'

The following is an extract from the gasconade, which the enemy did not consider as demeaning their character to publish, after their account of the former action. In the sitting of the Convention, July 29th, a letter was read by Defermont from Niou, representative of the people, on mission with the Toulon fleet, to the Committee of Public Welfare, dated from the road of Frejus, July 14. 'The instructions which you had sent to the Admiral, and to me, in which you enjoined us not to commit the force confided to us, determined our retreat either to the gulf of Frejus, or to that of Juan; for being to leeward of the Hieres Islands, we deemed it impossible to gain them. The wind had much fallen, but there was still a tolerable breeze; this however gradually abated, and we were at length becalmed about three leagues from land. The enemy availed themselves of the breeze, which had not yet forsaken them, and their van approached very nearly to our rear. Some of their ships, however, were becalmed also, and fell into disorder; still with the little wind that was abroad, they made the utmost effort to cut off our rear. We were thus in the most critical position, for the centre of the fleet where we were placed, could not make the smallest movement. The engagement at length commenced. The French were the first to fire, and several of the English ships, of which one was a three-decker, received much damage in their masts and rigging; the latter lost her main-mast, in consequence of which she tacked about, but still continued her fire. This movement permitted our rear to avail themselves of a breeze, which, though light and momentary, enabled them to replace themselves in order. The Admiral then perceiving that l'Alcide had suffered much in her rigging, and could with difficulty follow her division, ordered the frigates la Justice and l'Alceste to take her in tow, and he made at the same time the signal to the ships which were near her to afford every succour. He was about to give the same orders to the van division, and to a part of that of the centre, that had been hitherto becalmed, but which

a light breeze now enabled to be put in motion; to relieve l'Alcide at the risk of a general action, for the whole of the English fleet was now bearing down: but at the instant when this order was about to be given, we perceived l'Alcide entirely in flames, the hull, the masts, and sails, all seemed to take fire at the same moment. There was after this deplorable accident a slight cannonade, between the rear of the French fleet and the van of the English: but the enemy soon tacked about; and our fleet, continuing to make sail, anchored at eight o'clock in the evening in the gulf of Frejus, where we are at present.

'The result of this engagement, to which you will see we were compelled, has been the loss of a ship, which was destroyed by accident. But it is to be observed, that several of the enemy's vessels were so much damaged, that they were obliged to be taken in tow; and that a fleet of seventeen ships was able to make head against one of twenty-three, the latter having the advantage of the wind, without being able to arrest the course of an adversary so inferior. If the wind had not left us all at once, the French fleet would have returned to port without any accident, for it was much better worked than that of the English.'

Some further particulars respecting this partial action with the French fleet, and the critical situation of the Agamemnon when chased by it into Fiorenzo bay, are contained in the following letter to Captain Locker, written at intervals from the 8th of July to the 14th. It forms a striking contrast to the statement of Citizen Niou. 'I fell in with the enemy off Cape del Mele, who, expecting to get hold of us, were induced to chase us over; not knowing, I am certain from their movements, that our fleet was returned into port. The chace lasted twenty-four hours, and owing to the fickleness of the winds in these seas, we at times were hard pressed; but they being neither seamen nor officers, gave us many advantages. Our fleet had the mortification to see me for seven hours almost in the possession of the enemy. The shore was our great friend; but a calm and swell prevented our fleet from getting out until this morning. The enemy went off yesterday evening, and I fear we shall not overtake them: however, in this country, no person can say any thing about winds.

'July 14. Yesterday we got sight of the French fleet, our flyers[q] were able to get near them, but not more so than half-gun shot: had the wind lasted ten minutes longer, the six ships would have each been alongside six of the enemy. Man commanded us, and a good man he is in every sense of the word. I had every expectation of getting Agamemnon close alongside an 80 gun ship, with a flag or broad pendant; but the west wind first died away,

[q] Captain Nelson, afterwards in a postscript, inserts the names of the ships, and adds, 'If I have omitted any, I ask their pardons.'

Victory, Admiral *Man.*	Cumberland, *Rowley.*	Defence, *Wells.*	Culloden, *Troubridge.*
Agamemnon, *Nelson.*	Captain, *Reeve.*	Blenheim, *Bazely.*	

then came east, which gave them the wind and enabled them to reach their own coast, from which they were not more than eight or nine miles distant. Rowley and myself were just getting again into close action, when the Admiral made our signal to call us off. L'Alcide, 74, had struck, but soon afterwards took fire by a box of combustibles in her fore-top, and she blew up. In the morning I was certain of taking the whole fleet, and latterly of six sail. No ships, I will say, could behave better than ours; none worse than the French. Few men are killed; but our sails and rigging are a good deal cut up. Agamemnon, with her usual good luck, has none killed, and only one badly wounded by chance, for I am sure they chiefly fired high: they put several shot under water, which kept us ever since at the pumps. We are steering for Fiorenzo. The Culloden lost her main top-mast, as she was getting alongside a seventy-four.'

Captain Nelson to Earl Spencer.

'My Lord: I have seen in the newspapers that I am made one of the Colonels of Marines; an appointment certainly most flattering to me, as it marks to the world an approbation of my conduct. To your Lordship I beg leave to express my gratification, more especially, as by a letter to Lord Hood, you declared your intention to represent my services in the most favourable point of view to the King; for which I beg leave to return my most sincere thanks. In the same letter your Lordship observed, that the doubts which had arisen, respecting the damage my eye had sustained at the siege of Calvi, made it impossible to say, whether it was such as amounted to the loss of a limb. I have only to tell your Lordship, that a privation of sight for every common occasion in life, is the consequence of the loss of part of the chrystal of my right eye. As I mean not to press on your Lordship the propriety of considering my loss, I shall conclude by assuring you, that my endeavours shall never be wanting to merit a continuance of your good opinion, and that I shall ever consider myself your Lordship's most obliged humble servant. P. S. Being appointed with a small squadron of frigates to co-operate with the Austrian General de Vins, I cannot allow my letter to go, without saying, that General de Vins appears to be an officer who perfectly knows his duty, and is well disposed to act with vigour on every proper occasion. The enemy are throwing up strong works near Albinga; but before three days are past, I expect the army will be to the westward of them.'

Captain Nelson had, however, very soon reason to change his opinion of this General, as appears by subsequent letters; when, in consequence of his inactivity in the neighbourhood of Vado, the zealous commander of the Agamemnon waited on him, and offered to embark the whole or any part of the Austrian army, and transport it to the rear of the French, or to any spot to the westward of their army, which the General might think most advisable. It was probably in consequence of the great errors, which Nelson observed in the conduct of de Vins, and the advantages which the former perceived any army would

possess in harassing an enemy, by being thus transported from one situation to another, that Nelson afterwards so repeatedly urged the necessity, of having a considerable number of empty transports in the Mediterranean, for that especial service.

Anno Ætat. 37.

The following letter to Mr. Drake is the beginning of a diplomatic correspondence with that minister, which Nelson continued to the very last. Mr. Drake soon perceived the extraordinary ability, and as it were the intuitive knowledge of the politics of Europe, which appeared in these valuable communications; and in consequence, he was one of the first persons, who through Lord Grenville[r] recommended Captain Nelson to the particular notice of government.

Captain Nelson to Mr. Drake, dated Agamemnon, Genoa Mole, July 18, 1795.[s]

'From the conversation, Sir, which I had the honour to hold with your Excellency yesterday evening, it appeared to you, as I own it does to myself, that the great use of the co-operation between his Majesty's squadron under my command, and the allied army under General de Vins, is to put an entire stop to all trade between Genoa, France, and the places occupied by the armies of France; and unless this trade is stopped, it was the opinion of your Excellency, that it would be almost impossible for the allied army to hold their situation, and much less possible for them to make any progress in driving the French out of the Riviera of Genoa. By the paper you gave me to read, it also appears, that probably Nice itself might fall for want of a supply of provisions, forage, and ammunition, coming from Genoa.

'I have the honour to transmit you a copy of Admiral Hotham's orders to me, on my coming upon this service; as also, a copy of an order dated June 17th, off Minorca, which, from the impossibility of being complied with in this country, amounts to a prohibition of those orders that had been given in England. I have therefore to request, that your Excellency will write to Admiral Hotham, on the subject of the absolute necessity of stopping all the trade, that may pass between Genoa, France, and the places that are occupied by the armies of France, and that Ventimiglia must be considered as under that description; for if a Genoese vessel may pass with impunity to that place, nothing can prevent their going to Nice, and every French port to the westward of it.

'However, Sir, so sensible am I of the necessity of vigorous measures, that if your Excellency will assure me it would be for the benefit of his Majesty's service, and for good reasons, that I should stop all trade between the neutral powers and France, and the places occupied by the armies of France; I will give proper directions to the squadron under my command for that purpose, and the vessels and their cargoes shall lie in Vado Bay, until I can receive my Commander in chief's directions about them; or,

[r] A Nobleman to whom the Nelson family feel themselves particularly indebted. [s] From the Nelson papers.

if your Excellency thought it proper to send an express to England, until that answer could return.

'The great obstacles, Sir, which are opposed to me, as a Captain in the Navy, are briefly, the being liable to prosecution for detention and damage, and the danger of agents becoming bankrupts. Suppose I stop a Genoese vessel with corn for France, or places occupied by her armies, considering Ventimiglia in that situation; what can I do with her? By my orders of June 17th, I am not to institute any legal process against her, until their Lordships' further pleasure shall be known: I am to send a complete specification of her cargo to the Secretary of the Admiralty. This is a measure of impossibility in this country; for the cargoes, probably chiefly of corn, would be spoiled long before their Lordships' pleasure could reach me, and in case the vessel and cargo should be released by their Lordships' order, it is to me the Owners would look for damages.

'But even supposing that, in consequence of your Excellency's statement, I should stop the vessels before described; and, to avoid unnecessary expence, should direct the corn, or other cargo, to be taken out, the freight to be paid for, and the vessel released; I might, notwithstanding, be unfortunate in the choice of an agent, and, in consequence of the value of these cargoes not being forthcoming, the Captain would naturally be looked to for the money. Such things have happened; therefore there is only one measure to be taken, To bear the officer harmless from prosecution on this new occasion, who shall send the neutral vessels and cargoes to such person or persons, as you may think proper to appoint, that he or they may pay for the freight and release the vessel, selling the cargo and holding the amount, until legal process is had on it; your Excellency pledging yourself, that government would prevent any prosecution from falling on the officer, who may stop vessels as before described. I hope you will excuse the length of this letter; but when your Excellency considers the responsibility of a Captain in the Navy in these cases, I trust you will think it right for me to have stated my opinion thus fully.'

Captain Nelson to Admiral Hotham,[1] *dated Agamemnon, Vado Bay, July* 22, 1795.

'I have the honour to inform you, Sir, that I arrived at Genoa on the evening of the 17th, and found there two French frigates, la Vestale of 32 guns, la Brune of 26 guns, and two brigs, the Scout and Alert. I sailed with Mr. Drake from Genoa at daylight on the 20th, and arrived here yesterday morning, where I found Mr. Trevor waiting for Mr. Drake. I have had a conference with the Austrian General de Vins, who seemed extremely glad to see us. At present I do not perceive any immediate prospect of their getting on to the westward, it appearing to be the General's opinion, that the enemy must be reduced in their provisions, before the Austrians can make advances; and that for the

[1] Admiral Lord Hotham's collection.

present famine is to do more than the sword. You will see, Sir, by my correspondence with Mr. Drake, the necessity I felt myself under to give the orders of which I have the honour to enclose you a copy, together with my correspondence, and I flatter myself you will approve what I have done.

'I sail this evening with Mr. Drake, and Mr. Trevor,[u] for Genoa, at which place it is not my present intention to anchor, but to return here with all expedition. The Austrian General having fitted out many privateers, has taken several vessels laden with corn for France; and I trust, with the disposition of the ships under my command, I shall be able to stop all intercourse with France from the eastward, hoping you will approve of the measures that have been recommended by the British Ministers at Genoa and Turin.

'The Meleager, Captain Cockburn, brought in yesterday a valuable prize:[x] I have no doubt that her cargo is French property; the gold, silver, and jewels, which were found in the cabin, are on board the Agamemnon; but things of much more consequence, I understand, are in the hold, indeed I cannot guess at the value[y] of the cargo. She was deserted by the master and all the crew; two passengers remained on board, who were left in the hurry. The Southampton joined yesterday evening. The Tarleton was very active, I should be glad to have her again. In respect to Vado Bay, had it not been called a Bay, I should never have named it one: it is a bend in the land, and since I have been here by no means good landing. The water is deep, good clay bottom, and plenty of fresh water; open from E. to S. To the east the land is at a great distance; but I think a fleet may ride here for a short time in the summer months. General de Vins returned my visit yesterday afternoon, and was received with all the honour due to his rank.'

On the 24th of July, 1795, Captain Nelson thus expressed himself without reserve, in a letter from off Vado Bay to his wife. 'What changes in my life of activity! Here I am, having commenced a co-operation with an old Austrian General, almost fancying myself charging at the head of a troop of horse. Nothing will be wanting on my part towards the success of the common cause. I have eight sail of frigates under my command; the service I have to perform is important, and, as I informed you a few days ago from Genoa, I am acting not only without the orders of my Commander in chief, but in some measure contrary to them. However, I have not only the support of his Majesty's Ministers, both at Turin and Genoa, but a consciousness that I am doing what is right

[u] His Majesty's Minister at Turin.

[x] Called Nostra Signora de Belvedere: the taking of this vessel was made a great cause of complaint by the Genoese government, and Captain Cockburn was obliged to vindicate his conduct in a letter to Lord Grenville, then Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. She sailed from Marseilles, bound to Genoa.

[y] In another letter he stated, that report had valued her at 160,000*l.* when she left France.

and proper for the service of our King and Country: political courage in an officer abroad is as highly necessary as military courage. The abovementioned Ministers want the Admiral to give me an order to wear a distinguishing pendant. The Austrian army is composed of 32,000 of the finest troops I ever saw; and the General when he gets to Nice will have the baton of a Field Marshal: What shall I get? However this I can say, that all I have obtained I owe to myself, and to no one else, and to you I may add, that my character stands high with almost all Europe; even the Austrians knew my name perfectly. When I get through this campaign, I think myself I ought to rest. I hope to God the war will be over, and that I may return to you in peace and quietness. A little farm, and my good name, form all my wants and wishes.'

Amongst the squadron of frigates, which Captain Nelson mentions in the above letter as being under his command, was the Inconstant, Captain T. F. Freemantle, an officer particularly esteemed by Nelson, and who afterwards became associated with him in the greater part of his subsequent achievements. Their first acquaintance had commenced at the siege of Toulon; Captain Freemantle afterwards occasionally served with Nelson during the siege of Bastia; and throughout the whole of the Vado campaign, and in the subsequent proceedings of the Commodore respecting Genoa and Leghorn, Captain Freemantle took a distinguished share in the operations of this renowned squadron.

On the 24th of July, 1795, on having landed Mr. Drake and Mr. Trevor at Genoa, the Agamemnon kept throughout the whole night towards Vado Bay; and the next morning was driven by a very heavy gale from the S. W. into Leghorn roads. It was with the utmost difficulty, and only by carrying an extraordinary press of sail, that they were enabled to weather Cape Rapalo, which lies almost midway between Genoa and Especia. In writing to Admiral Hotham, on the 28th, Nelson expressed a hope that he should be able to get away in a few hours, with the Inconstant and Ariadne. 'I am the less uneasy,' added he, 'at being blown off my station with a westerly, than with an easterly gale, for, with the latter, the enemy, I fear, might get supplies in spite of us. There are several vessels here laden with corn for France, some of them under passports from the Dey of Algiers; however they must be stopped, if met with by the squadron under my orders; and the Ministers of Genoa, and Turin, would be solely answerable for what may be the result. But, Sir, the whole of the necessity of stopping all the vessels, is comprised in a very few words, that if we do not stop supplies of corn, &c. going to France, the armies will return whence they came; and the failure of this campaign, from which so much is expected, will be attributed to our want of energy: for the only use of the naval co-operation is in preventing any supply of provisions, which if done for six weeks, our Ministers tell me, the Austrian army will be in possession of Nice, and ready to carry on a winter campaign in Provence. But by that time I pray God the war may be finished.' Admiral Hotham

replied in answer, dated Britannia at sea, July 29th, 'I very much approve of what you have done, and I shall cause similar orders, to those you have given, to be issued to the fleet in general.'[z]

Thus did the discerning mind of Nelson, from that patriotic impulse which it invariably possessed, venture to point out the insufficiency of the orders he had received, and to open the eyes of his government to those injuries which the general cause sustained by the frauds of neutral vessels. It is a curious fact, and is mentioned by Rymer in his Fœdera, that so far back as the year 1295, when King Edward the First was at war with France, he compelled the masters of neutral vessels, who were in the ports of England, to give security that they did not sail to any port belonging to the enemy, without drawing a line of distinction between contraband and lawful goods; and it was not[a] until the month of July in the year 1326, that his successor, Edward the Second, was compelled by his misfortunes, and the fluctuation that prevailed in his councils, to order his Admirals to preserve peace with all neutral nations.

It appears to have been the opinion of Nelson, that had Lord Hood remained in the Mediterranean, a favourable opportunity then offered to have regained Toulon; for in a letter to his wife, dated Vado Bay, August 2d, after mentioning that idea, he added, 'At the time we got possession of it before, the royalists were by no means so strong at Toulon as they are at this moment.' The subsequent part of this letter relates to his private character, and displays that uniform filial affection, which must have drawn down a blessing on all his undertakings. 'I have been very negligent, Fanny, in writing to my Father, but I rest assured, he knows I would have done it long ago, had you not been under the same roof. At present I do not write less than from ten to twenty letters every day; which with the Austrian General, and aid de camps, and my own little squadron, fully employ my time: this I like; active service, or none. Pray draw for 200*l.* my Father and myself can settle our accounts when we meet; at present, I believe, I am the richer man, therefore I desire you will give my dear Father that money.'

On the same day, August 2d, he detached the Meleager, Captain Cockburn,[b] and the Southampton, off Cape del Mele, in order to ascertain, whether, according to information received from the General, vessels laden with corn did not clear out for Barcelona, although actually bound to Marseilles: should it appear that they were actually bound for Spain, Captain Cockburn was directed to send them into Vado Bay, that they might

[z] Admiral Lord Hotham's letter book.

[a] Rymer's Fœdera, xi. 679, and iv. 218, 219.

[b] This excellent officer, and intimate friend of Nelson, had sailed from England at the beginning of the French war, as Lieutenant in the Britannia, and was removed into the Victory on the first vacancy that took place in that ship. He was made Captain of the Speedy sloop in October, 1793, by Lord Hood, and was by his Lordship appointed acting Captain of the Inconstant in January, 1794; and Captain of the Meleager, in the following month, which was confirmed by the Admiralty.

be provided with convoy; the French squadron being hourly expected from Genoa.—In writing to Mr. Drake on the 4th, he said, 'Should[c] the French ships sail from Toulon, and be bound to the Archipelago, the Admiral will have a very good chance of falling in with them; but I rather am inclined to hope, they are bound to Genoa to cover their convoy, and if that be their intention, you may rest assured they shall never do it, as long as Agamemnon is above water. Should you hear of their sailing from Toulon, be so good as to let me know it; that if they are coming this way, I may fight them before the ships from Genoa join.' In a subsequent letter, to Mr. Drake on the 6th, he described the manner in which his cruisers had been stationed, and marked the difference with which the English and French squadrons had regarded the neutrality of Genoa. 'The disposition and acts of my cruisers will soon prove incontestibly that Genoa is not blockaded, as all vessels will arrive in perfect security which are not French, or laden with French property. Cruisers off Cape Corse, or the straits of Bonifaccio, would not stop the trade so well as where I have placed them; were I to remove those ships on the Especia side of the gulf, nothing could prevent the escape of the French squadron, and any convoy they might choose to carry with them. It ever has been customary to endeavour to intercept enemy's vessels coming from neutral ports, and the cruisers off Port Especia are very little nearer Genoa than Leghorn, and are at the utmost extremity of the Genoese territory; for I have been most careful to give no offence to the Genoese territory, or flag. Were I to follow the example, which the Genoese allow the French, of having some small vessels in the port of Genoa, that I have seen towed out of the port, and board vessels coming in, and afterwards return into the mole; there might then certainly be some reason to say, their neutral territory was insulted: but the conduct of the English is very different. I take the liberty, Sir, of writing thus fully, which I hope you will excuse, as it may help to furnish you with strong arguments, should the Genoese government complain: and another cogent reason why British cruisers are necessary, even on the coast and before the port of Genoa, is the necessity of protecting our own trade, and that of our allies, from the numerous French privateers, which cover the gulf every night from the ports of the republic. I am almost blind, and it is with very great pain I write this letter.'

On the 8th of August, 1795, he received information, from Mr. Drake at Genoa, that the French ships which had been moored in the mole, were riding at single anchor in the middle of that port, waiting for the first fair wind to escort some vessels laden with corn for France. He therefore desired Captain Cockburn to draw pretty close in with the gulf, in order to prevent their escape, and added, 'The Lowestoffe has just joined me; I shall order her to keep about four miles off Port Vado, to prevent the French

[c] Mr. Drake's collection.

ships passing in shore; and the Agamemnon is kept ready to sail at a moment's notice. I have been ill several days, and this day am alive, and that's all.'

Sir Gilbert Elliot, Viceroy of Corsica, to Captain Nelson,[g] *August* 7, 1795.

'Give me leave, my dear Sir, to congratulate you, on the Agamemnon's supporting uniformly, on every occasion, the same reputation which has always distinguished that ship since I have been in the Mediterranean. I know that it was not Agamemnon's fault, if more was not done on the late cruise. It gives me great pleasure also to see you employed in your present important service, which requires zeal, activity, and a spirit of accommodation and co-operation, qualities which will not be wanting in the Commodore of your squadron. I consider the business you are about, the expulsion of the enemy from the Genoese and Piedmontese territories, as the most important feature in the southern Campaign. I am lately returned from a six weeks tour through the Island, which afforded me the highest satisfaction, both from the improvable nature of the country, and from the general spirit of loyalty, and attachment to the King's country, which manifested itself wherever I went. I may tell you in confidence, that Paoli has been endeavouring to stir up mischief, during my absence, in this part of the Island; and by lies, and inventions, some disturbance has been created in the districts adjoining to his own residence. But by perfect firmness, and proper temper, these attempts to disturb us are sure of ending in the disgrace of their authors, as in truth this one has already nearly done. It seems that Paoli is not great enough, to reconcile himself to the station of a private man, and that he still hankers after the crown, which he gave to the King at a time, indeed, when he could no longer keep it for himself.'

Captain Nelson, in his answer from Vado Bay, on the 18th, said, 'If my health and eyes, my dear Sir, which are now almost worn out, can allow, I will endeavour to tell you what occurrences have taken place. Corsica is never from my thoughts. I have received letters from good Lord Hood: However wrong he might have been in writing so strongly, and as he allows he has, to the Admiralty, the nation has suffered much by his not returning to the Mediterranean; for an abler head, or heart more devoted to the service of his Country, is not readily to be met with: and when I think what Lord Bridport did under Port L'Orient,[h] on the 23d of June last, I cannot but sigh.

'Respecting our movements here, they are very slow. General de Vins has been long expected, but I fear in vain. He says, he has flattered and abused the Piedmontese and Neapolitans, yet nothing will induce them to act. A plan is now concerted between the general and myself, to embark, if these people will not act, five or six thousand men,

[g] From the Nelson MSS.

[h] A most gallant action that was never properly appreciated by his Country. Le Tigre, 80 guns, Le Formidable, and L'Alexandre, 74 guns each, were taken.

and to make a landing between St. Remo, and Ventimiglia. Some risk must be run, and the general seems a man who will venture when it is proper. I think I need scarcely say, the greatest harmony subsists between us. Admiral Hotham is daily expected, and my humble plans may be put aside, or carried into execution by other officers, which I should not altogether like: however I think the Admiral will stay here as little a while as possible. The strong orders which I judged it proper to give on my first arrival, have had an extraordinarily good effect. The French army is now supplied with almost daily bread from Marseilles, not a single boat has passed with corn: the Genoese are angry, but that does not matter. I am truly concerned that Paoli should be troublesome; I had heard it, but could not give credit to such an apparent absurd conduct on his part. I fully trust, and believe, that your Excellency's mild and equitable administration will leave the good Corsicans little to hope, or fear, from Paoli and his adherents. Poor Agamemnon is as nearly worn out as her Captain, we must both soon be laid up to repair. The Marines has been given to me in the handsomest manner: the answer returned to many was, *the King knows of no officer who has a better claim than Captain Nelson.*'[h]

When writing to Captain Locker, from Vado Bay, on the 19th of August, 1795, he again referred to Lord Bridport's gallant action: 'I hope Lord Bridport's success, and the appearance of the emigrants landed in Britanny, will bring this war to a happy conclusion. The peace which France has made with Spain is unfortunate, as it lets loose an additional army against that of the Austrians in this country; though certainly, from the activity of the Spaniards, no benefit whatever has arisen to the common cause. I think, that besides money, the Spaniards have consented to give ships; and I know, that the French long since offered Spain peace, for fourteen sail of the line fully stored, I take for granted not manned, as that would be the readiest way to lose them again. My command here of thirteen sail of frigates and sloops is not altogether unpleasant. As I had been so much in the habit of soldiering this war, the moment it became known that the Austrian army was coming, it was fixed that the Brigadier must go. Hitherto I have succeeded in all my attempts, and I trust I shall not fail in our present undertaking. Nothing shall be wanting on our part, as far as my force goes. The Mediterranean command includes such a variety of duty, when compared to any other station, that it requires a man of business.'[i]

Admiral Hotham in his letter[k] to Captain Nelson, from Leghorn Road, dated August

[h] Lord Minto's Collection.

[i] An extensive correspondence with foreign states, and the peculiar situation of Italy at that period, rendered the command in the Mediterranean more adapted to an experienced diplomatic officer, than to a skilful and brave seaman: which Admiral Hotham had shewn himself to be, in a variety of instances.

[k] Admiral Lord Hotham's collection.

19th, assigned reasons for pursuing that line of conduct, which the sanguine disposition of the latter officer considered as too cautious. 'I have received your letter of the 16th, informing me of General de Vins' desire, to have clear answers to the propositions therein stated. To the first of which, viz. 'Will the Admiral return to Vado from Leghorn?' I answer, 'Uncertain; but I rather think I shall not have an opportunity of returning there, owing to the intelligence I have received from the Admiralty, which renders my presence immediately necessary in another place. To the second proposition, viz. 'Will the Admiral assist, and cover the landing of from six to ten thousand men, on the coast of Provence?' I answer, 'That it will not be in my power so to do, on account of the Fleet being required for another service, as stated in the preceding answer.' To the third proposition, viz. 'Will the Admiral undertake to prevent the Toulon fleet from molesting my operations?' I answer, 'Yes, most certainly.' And am, Sir, yours, &c. William Hotham.'

The Treaty which the French had concluded with Spain, was dated July 22, 1795, in which the Republic of the United Provinces, as being the allies of France, were included: she also detached Tuscany, and Prussia, and, soon after the above date, the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, from their alliance with Great Britain.

On the 26th of August, 1795, the active mind of Nelson was directed against some vessels of the enemy, in the bay of Alassio and Languelia; at that time in possession of the French army, and serving as their principal rendezvous for transports and store ships. The following is the official account which he sent to Admiral Hotham. 'Sir: Having received information from General de Vins, that a Convoy of provisions and ammunition was arrived at Alassio, I yesterday proceeded with the ships named in the margin[k], to that place, where, within an hour, we took the vessels named in the enclosed [l] list. There was but a very feeble resistance from some of the enemy's cavalry, who fired on our boats when boarding the vessels near the shore; but I have the pleasure to say no man was

[k] Inconstant, Meleager, Southampton, Tartar, Ariadne, and Speedy.

[l] Vessels Names.	How Rigged.	Cargo.			To what Nation belonging.
		Guns.	Swivels.	Men.	
La Resolue Corvette.	Polacre ship, 6 guns thrown overboard,	10	4	87	French.
La Republique.....	Gun Boat.....	6	..	49	
La Constitution.....	Galley.....	1 brass	4	30	
La Vigilante.....	Ditto.....	1	4	29	
Name unknown.....	Brig, 100 tons.....	Ballast.....			
Ditto.....	Bark, 70 ditto.....	Powder and Shells...			
La Guilletta.....	Brig, 100 ditto.....	Wine.....			
Name unknown.....	Galley, 50 ditto.....	Ballast.....			Unknown.
Ditto.....	Tartan, 30 ditto.....	Wine.....			Ditto.
Ditto.....	Destroyed.....	.....			Ditto.
Ditto.....	Bark.....	Powder.....			Drove on shore.
Ditto.....	Ditto.....	Provisions.....			Burnt.

killed or wounded. The enemy had 2000 horse and foot soldiers in the town, which prevented my landing and destroying their magazines of provisions and ammunition. I sent Captain Freemantle of the Inconstant, with the Tartar, to Languelia, a town on the western side of the Bay of Alassio, where he executed my orders in a most officer-like manner; and I am indebted to every Captain and officer in the squadron for their activity; but most particularly so to Lieutenant George Andrews, first lieutenant of the Agamemnon, who, by his spirited and officer-like conduct, saved the French corvette from going on shore.'

The following is a copy of the Summons which was sent to the Commander of the national corvette; 'Sir: to prevent destruction to the town of Alassio, and to avoid the unnecessary effusion of human blood, I desire the immediate surrender of your vessel. If you do not comply with my demand, the consequences must remain with you, and not with your very humble servant, Horatio Nelson.'—Admiral Hotham, in addition to the thanks which he conveyed to Captain Nelson, and his officers, on Sept. 1, subjoined the following liberal commendation of the former, when he sent the dispatches to the Admiralty: 'His officer-like conduct upon this, and, indeed, upon every occasion where his services are called forth, reflects upon him the highest credit.'

This enterprise was soon succeeded by another, which did not terminate quite so successfully. It is detailed in the following official account that was sent to Admiral Hotham, dated Vado Bay, August 30, 1795. 'Sir: Having received information that a ship laden with provisions was arrived at Oneglia, I yesterday afternoon manned the two small gallies, taken on the 26th, with forty-four officers and men from the Agamemnon, and ten men belonging to the Southampton, under the command of Lieutenant George Andrews, and Lieutenant Peter Spicer of the Agamemnon; and ordered Lieutenant Andrews to proceed to Oneglia, and to endeavour to take the said ship. On his passage down, about nine o'clock at night, he fell in with three large vessels with lateen sails, which he engaged at ten o'clock. One of these was carried by boarding, but the men belonging to her, retiring to the others, cut her adrift, the three vessels being made fast together. At half past ten the attack on the other two was renewed with the greatest spirit; but the number of men on board was too great, united with the height of their vessels, for our force; and my gallant officers and men, after a long contest, were obliged to retreat. It is with the greatest pain I have to render so long a list[m] of killed and wounded. The spirited and officer-like conduct of Lieutenants Andrews and Spicer, I cannot sufficiently applaud; and every praise is due to each individual, for their exemplary bravery and good

[m] Belonging to the Agamemnon, killed 3, mortally wounded 3, wounded 7. Officers names, Mr. Thomas Withers, mate, wounded; Mr. D. Williams, midshipman, mortally wounded; Mr. Samuel Gamble, midshipman, wounded.—Southampton, killed 1, wounded 3.—Total killed 4, mortally wounded 3, wounded 10.

conduct. The vessels had no colours hoisted, but a Greek flag has been found on board the prize.

On the first of September, 1795, he sent from Vado Bay the following account of what had passed, with some additional information, to Mrs. Nelson:—' We have made a small Expedition with the squadron, and taken a French corvette and some other vessels, in which affair I lost no men; but since, I have not been so successful. I detached Mr. Andrews to cut off a ship from Oneglia: On his passage, he fell in with three Turkish vessels, as it has since turned out, who killed and wounded 17 of my poor fellows. Seven are already dead, and more must be lost by the badness of their wounds; and I am sorry to add, that the Turks got into Genoa, with six millions of hard cash: however, they who play at bowls must expect rubs,° and the worse success now, the better, I hope, another time. Our fleet is still at Leghorn. Collingwood I hear is arrived in the Excellent, 74, with the convoy from England. I am almost afraid, that the Campaign in this country will end in a very different manner from what might have been expected; but I will do my best until it finishes.'

On the fourth of September, 1795, not finding the General likely to move, Captain Nelson went again on a cruise; and proceeding down the coast as far as Nice, he sounded the greater part of it. On the seventh, he saw Admiral Hotham's fleet standing to the westward, and on the 12th the Agamemnon returned to Vado Bay. Soon after his arrival, he delivered a Memoir to General de Vins; a part of which has been extracted.

' Having been down the Coast to the westward, as far as Nice, the following is the result of my observation, and the service which I can undertake to perform with his Majesty's squadron, should you, Sir, be inclined to think it right to get to the westward of your present situation.—I can embark four or five thousand men, with their arms and a few days provisions, on board the ships of the squadron; and will engage to land them within two miles of St. Remo with their field pieces. It is necessary for me to point out the necessity of possessing St. Remo, and its situation with respect to the sea; as it is the only place between Vado, and Ville Franche, where the squadron can lie in safety. The town is situated in the middle of a small bay, where the squadron can anchor in almost all winds; in some respects it is as good as Vado Bay, in others, for security of large ships, it certainly is not so. It has a mole, where all small vessels can lie and load and unload their cargoes: an advantage which Vado has not. Secondly,

° In this, and various other passages in his letters, Captain Nelson had his favourite author, Shakespear, in view; who, according to Johnson, used the word *rub*, as signifying an inequality of ground, that hinders the motion of a bowl.

' We'll play at bowls:
—'Twill make me think the World is full of rubs,
And that my Fortune runs against the bias.

respecting provisions for the Austrian army, I will undertake to provide sufficient convoys, that they shall arrive in safety: and, thirdly, there can be no doubt but an embarkation of the troops, should such a measure prove necessary, might always be covered by the squadron.

'The possession of St. Remo, as head quarters for magazines of stores and provisions, would enable General de Vins to turn his Army to the eastward or westward; the enemy at Oneglia would be cut off from provisions, and a body of men could be landed to attack it, whenever it might be judged necessary. Nice, from the vicinity of St. Remo, would be completely blockaded by sea; and the British fleet, twenty-three sail of the line, are now off Toulon.'

General de Vins, on the 14th, returned the following answer:[p] 'I have received, with much pleasure, your memoir concerning an attack in the neighbourhood of St. Remo, which you have been pleased to communicate. You are well aware, that in all enterprises, it is necessary to calculate the advantages that would accrue, if entirely successful, or only partially so; and also the disadvantages that might arise, if it terminated unsuccessfully. You say in the memoir, that the Bay of St. Remo is equally good with that of Vado. I am not a seaman, but from the information I have collected respecting the different anchorages along the coast of the Riviera, I have been led to conclude, that vessels of a certain size could not approach St. Remo nearer, than at the distance of a mile, or thereabouts, and that even then they are exposed, whilst at anchor, to every wind that blows. Whereas, on the contrary, in Vado Bay, as we have it on record, the English fleet under the orders of Admiral Matthews, passed a great part of the winter there, during the years 1745 and 1746. In the military commission that was held at Milan on the 22d of June, 1794, it was said, 'That the Allies ought to make themselves masters of the Road and Port of Vado, it being the only anchorage of the Riviera, where an English fleet could remain during the winter, and prevent the enemy from making any attempt on Italy. *Si cependant Monsieur le Commandant Nelson est assuré, qu'une partie de la Flotte puisse y passer l'hiver; il n'y a aucun risque, au quel je ne m'expose rai avec plaisir pour procurer des abris assurés aux vaisseaux de S. M. Britannique.*

In his reply on the same day, Captain Nelson added, 'My reason for the necessity of possessing St. Remo, was not that it was a better anchorage than Vado, as I say the contrary in my observations, but that it is the best between Vado and Nice, and perfectly safe for all small vessels. I neither can nor do pretend to judge of the movements, your Excellency may think proper to make; but I wished to inform you of the support and assistance it is in my power to give, and on which you may depend in every arrangement that may be making for getting to the westward.'

[p] Lord St. Vincent's Collection.

After consulting with Mr. Drake, he sent another letter to the General, dated the 17th of the same month, whilst lying in Genoa Mole: 'Your Excellency having doubtless suggested a much better plan, than the debarkation of the troops at St. Remo, which I again take the liberty of reminding you, was mentioned as the only place proper for landing stores and provisions; if you would have the goodness to let me know the time, and the number of troops ready to embark, I will immediately dispatch a ship to Admiral Hotham, to request he will order a sufficient number of transports; which, if at Corsica, I am sure he will instantly do, and I trust that your Excellency's plan would be successful in its fullest extent. Your Excellency will see by the Admiral's letter of August 19, of which I had the honour to send you a copy, that the Admiral insures you from any molestation in your operations by the French fleet.'

Baron de Vins, in his answer on the 19th, informed Captain Nelson, 'That the hope of collecting a number of peasants, as mentioned in a former letter, to facilitate the debarkation of troops, had hitherto prevented any mention of the proposed plan; yet at the same time he might rest assured, that as soon as he could declare himself ready, with the necessary vessels to convey ten thousand men and their artillery and baggage, the General would immediately put the Army in motion, and do every thing in his power to support the debarkation: *Et je puis vous assurer*, added he, *que m'etant offert de conduire l'Expedition moiméme, que je ne sacrifierai pas mal à propos, ni les troupes de S. M. l'Empereur mon Maitre, ni les Vaisseaux de S. M. Britannique.*'

On Sept. 15, 1795, Captain Nelson, whilst in Vado Bay, wrote to Mrs. Nelson his real sentiments on these proceedings. 'I am not, Fanny, quite so well pleased as I expected with this Army, which is slow beyond all description; and I begin to think, that the Emperor is anxious to touch another four millions of English money. As for the German generals, war is their trade, and peace is ruin to them; therefore we cannot expect that they should have any wish to finish the war. I have just made some propositions to the Austrian General to spur him on, which I believe he would have been full as well pleased had I omitted: in short, I can hardly believe he means to go any farther this winter. I am now under sail, on my way to Genoa, to consult with our minister on the inactivity of the Austrians; and he must take some step to urge these people forward. The small flotilla from Naples has just joined; but the season is almost too late for their acting. However, if they will act,I can find them plenty of employment; though I doubt their inclination. I hope my dear father is as well as I sincerely pray he may be.'

In the following letter to Admiral Hotham, Sept. 17, 1795, he still dwelt, and more strongly on the tardiness of the Austrian General. 'Sir, I came here yesterday morning for the purpose of communicating with his Majesty's minister, on several very im-

portant points, and amongst others, on the appearance of the inactivity of the Austrian General de Vins, who, at my first coming on this station, seemed very anxious to get to Nice; and indeed I had very little doubts as to the accomplishment of it. However, week after week has passed, without his army having removed one foot to the westward of where I found them. You know, Sir, his desire to have answers to three questions, I had the honour to send you, which you gave him; and, in the last, you declared, that the French fleet should not molest his operations: this answer was certainly all he could have wished. As I perceived that every idea of an attack on the enemy's works at St. Espirito was given over, I proceeded down the coast to the westward as far as Nice, and the only place where I found it practicable to land the troops, was near St. Remo, a Genoese town in possession of the French troops, except the citadel. You will see, the General's answer to my letter goes totally wide from what I could have meant. As it had for some time appeared to me, that the General intended to go no farther than his present position, and meant to lay the miscarriage of the enterprise against Nice, which I had always been taught to believe was the great object of this Army, to the non-cooperation of the British fleet, and the Sardinian army; to leave the General no room to insinuate such a want on our part, has been the object of my Memoir,[r] which I hope you will approve. In concert with Mr. Drake I have written this day to the General: If his answer should be the desire of transports, I think we have them, a passage of twenty-four hours is the outside; but I suspect he will now find other excuses, and were you to grant the whole fleet for transports, I verily believe some excuse would be found. This, Sir, is my public opinion, and which I wish not to conceal: happy shall I be to find myself mistaken, and with what ardour would I give the General every support, should such a favourable change take place.

'P. S. I have just received the General's answer to my letter written in concert with Mr. Drake. As I know not the place of debarkation, I cannot say any thing about it; but believe it is between Nice and the Var, where the country people have never been subjected to the French; and it is expected they will take the batteries on the coast, and hold them until a landing is effected. If the general is in earnest, which I still doubt, I have no fear for the success, and we shall yet have Ville Franche.'

The following letter to Mr. Drake, Sept. 18, 1795, was written in consequence of a complaint from the Genoese government to that minister. Captain Nelson, with his usual firmness and judgment, maintains the rights of British ships of war in entering neutral ports.

'My dear Sir: The occasion of the Inconstant being fired upon, as reported to the officer commanding the Agamemnon in my absence by the Captain of the port, is as follows. When I came in, I was told that no other ship of war could enter the port; to which I

[r] See page 229.

replied, None other was coming in. The first gun fired on the Inconstant was only loaded with powder; but, as she still advanced, the other was fired with shot ahead of her: when a request was sent, that I would make a signal for the ships not to enter the port. The Inconstant wanted to have communication with me, therefore stood round the Agamemnon: this can hardly be called coming into port, at least we do not understand it so. These are the facts as stated to me, and I should like to know one thing, on which must hinge the propriety or impropriety of the conduct of the Republic. Would not the Republic, in any situation of danger whatever, admit more than five ships inside the mole heads? If they answer No, I have but little to say: but if they answer Yes, how could they tell, that the Inconstant was not obliged from some cause or other to make for a port? No inquiries were made; and the first notice was a shot, to say, 'Whatever may be your distress, you shall not enter here, nor find protection in Genoa Mole.'—Much more might be added, but I am sure, Sir, you will do what is right. If I were to give chace to a French ship of war, and she went into Genoa Mole at a time when there were more than five ships in the mole, and they did not fire and turn her out, I would instantly attack her on their own reasoning, 'We will protect five, and no more.'

In a letter to Sir Gilbert Elliot[s] about the same time, he added, 'If the Admiral could give me one 74, I verily believe we should even yet gain possession of Nice. Mr. Drake perhaps has told you how we are obliged to manœuvre about the General: but the politics of Courts, my dear Sir, are I perceive so mean, that private people would be ashamed to act in the same way: all is trick and finesse, to which the common cause is sacrificed. The General wants a loop-hole, and I hope he will not have one; he shall not if I can help it, for I want Ville Franche for a good anchorage this winter. From what motive I know not, I hope from a good one, but the General sent orders to attack the enemy's strongest post, St. Espirito; and after an attack of ten hours it was carried. The General seems pleased, and says if he can carry another, the enemy must retire; which would give us the country as far as Oneglia. Then comes a fresh objection, which I am preparing against. He will say, 'I cannot hold an extent of sea coast of forty miles. I must give up Vado, for the enemy at Oneglia are on my left flank, and the Piedmontese will not attack them.'—Time and opportunity however may do much. Mr. Drake has just received his appointment to land at the head quarters of the Austrian army, and I rejoice at it. The loss of the Austrians in the last attack, was one thousand killed and wounded. It gives me pain to hear such bad accounts of the behaviour of many of the Corsicans; what they can be at, is impossible for me to guess, unless French gold has found its way amongst some of their chiefs. But I hope they will yet be quiet, and be no longer troublesome to your administration, which has done so much for them.'

[s] Lord Minto's Collection.

In his official letter to the Admiral, on the 20th of September, 1795, Captain Nelson said, ' I have had a meeting with General de Vins this morning, who informed me, that yesterday, his troops carried a post of the enemy in the centre of the mountain St. Espirito, and that the Austrians are now within half musket shot of some other point, which, if possible, he means to attack: he is going to the advanced post himself. The General also told me, that the moment he knows the transports are ready, he will head the troops, and has no doubt of being successful.—Four or five thousand peasantry are ready to take a battery of eight guns, where the landing is to be effected; for such a short voyage a few ships would carry the men, and if the Dolphin is at hand, or the Camel cleared, they would take a great number. I hope, Sir, the General will be left without any excuse.'

On the 21st, he wrote to his father and Mrs. Nelson, and thus frankly stated his opinion respecting the cooperation of the Austrians. ' I have been, in concert with his Majesty's minister, very hard at work in pushing the Austrian General forward; and yesterday morning got them to make an attack, that has been successful, and they have carried the centre post, on the ridge of mountains occupied by the French troops. The action lasted ten hours, and if the General will carry one other point, we shall gain thirty-three miles of country. Another plan is in agitation; which, if the Admiral will give me transports to carry a certain number of troops, will astonish the French, and perhaps the English. The General, if he can be brought to move, is an officer of great abilities; but the politics of his Court so constantly tie his hands, that he cannot always do what he thinks proper. However, if the Army does not move, our minister, who is fixed at head quarters, will endeavour to withhold the remainder of the Emperor's loan, say gift: this is an all-powerful motive with a German court, and for which the lives of their subjects are held in no estimation: I am become a politician, almost fit to enter the diplomatic line. Sept. 24. I am just arrived at Leghorn; and have received a most honourable testimony of my conduct, which has been transmitted from the Austrian General to our minister. It has not indeed been in my power to perform much; but I have done all I could to serve the Cause.'

The preceding opinion which Nelson had expressed, respecting the conduct of the Austrians, was confirmed by Mr. Drake, in a letter to Admiral Hotham, Sept. 22, 1795; and that minister at the same time mentioned the high estimation, which de Vins and the Austrian generals entertained of the abilities of the Captain of the Agamemnon. ' Sir: I avail myself of the earliest opportunity to acquaint your Excellency, that the King has been most graciously pleased to appoint me to reside at the head quarters of the Austrian army, under the command of General de Vins; in conformity with the third Article of the Convention of the 4th of May last, between his Majesty and the Emperor. Understanding

that Captain Nelson has already informed your Excellency of every thing which has passed of late between him, General de Vins, and myself, I forbear troubling you with a repetition of those circumstances. I confess, that I do not believe General de Vins is seriously inclined to undertake the expedition in question; but your Excellency may nevertheless think it necessary to act precisely as if there were no doubt of the sincerity of the General's professions. Whatever may be the event, we certainly must all be desirous of avoiding even the shadow of an imputation, that a failure of the Campaign in Italy should be attributed to a want of exertion on our part.—I cannot, in justice to the abilities, judgment, and activity of Captain Nelson, omit mentioning the very high estimation in which that officer is held by General de Vins, and the other Austrian General Officers; and I have thought it my duty to transmit to his Majesty's Ministers at home, the handsome testimony which our Allies bear to the zeal and good conduct of this officer, whom you selected to command the Squadron cooperating with them.'

In a previous letter, on the 15th of September, Captain Nelson mentioned the junction of a small flotilla from Naples, and his determination to give them plenty of employment, if they would but act. Accordingly on the 1st of October, 1795, he sent the following letter to the Commandant, 'Sir: The enemy's gun-boats having very much annoyed the Austrian camp, near Loano, I must desire, that you will, until further orders, consider the preventing of these boats from annoying the Austrian camp, as the greatest and only service which I at present wish you to perform; and I hope from the zeal which the officers of the King of Naples have always shewn, that you will soon find an opportunity of attacking and destroying these gun-boats. If you can spare any of the feluccas from this service, I shall be glad to have two of them stationed between Vado and Genoa, to prevent the enemy's row-boats, from Genoa, molesting the vessels with provisions for the army at Vado.'

The various and important services which Captain Nelson[t] performed with his little Squadron, formed a striking contrast with the slow and unprofitable operations of the powerful Austrian army, that was to have cooperated with him. The former employed his force to the very utmost of its ability, and constantly detached his frigates, so that each could best furnish its respective assistance to promote the general object in view. On the 2d of October, he directed Captain Cockburn, in the Melcager, to run along shore as far to the westward as Cape Garoupe, and thence to stand over as near Corsica, as from winds, weather, and information, he might judge necessary for intercepting supplies going to St. Remo; on which station he was to continue for eight or ten days. The active mind of Nelson was also employed in devising some stratagem, that might induce the

[t] Captain Nelson did not obtain a Commodore's pendant until the arrival of Sir John Jervis; when the former received what is termed a ten shilling pendant, and afterwards a broad pendant, with a Captain under him.

French squadron to sail from Genoa: they however eluded his design, which he noticed in writing to Mrs. Nelson, from Vado Bay, Oct. 5. 'Nothing has occurred, since I wrote last, except the sailing of the French squadron from Genoa. As soon as they knew of my absence, they made a push, and I fear are all got off. Two of our frigates were seen firing at them; but I have not much expectation of their success. It was a near touch, for I came back the next morning, after they had sailed on the preceding evening. I am vexed and disappointed; but the best laid schemes, if obliged to be trusted to others, will sometimes fail. I must submit, and hope for better luck another time: yet a squadron of French ships would have so graced my triumph! In the opinion of the Genoese my squadron is constantly offending: so that it almost appears a trial between us, who shall first be tired; they of complaining, or me of answering them. However, my mind is fixed, and nothing they can say will make me alter my conduct towards them. Our armies are very close to the French, every hour I expect an attack from them; as the General, from some cause or other, does not just now seem to be in the humour to begin the attack.—I have just received a very affectionate letter from his Royal Highness the Duke of Clarence, and he appears to remember our long acquaintance with much satisfaction: one of his expressions is, *I never part with a letter of yours, they are to me highly valuable.* He finds me unalterable, which I fancy he has not always done in those he has honoured with a preference.'

Captain Nelson[u] *to General Count Wallis, dated Agamemnon, Vado Bay, Nov.* 7, 1795.

'I was honoured, Sir, last night with your letter of yesterday's date. I hope every General Officer in the army will give me credit for my desire of doing whatever is in my power to render them assistance. I will immediately order a frigate and a brig to cruise off Cape Noli, in order to keep these gun-boats in some check; but the Captains of the ships who have anchored off Pietra declare to me, that it is impossible to lie there in the least swell, as it is a quicksand; and the frigate and brig were with difficulty saved, when there a few days ago. Indeed, Sir, though I shall order the ships off Noli, as you seem to wish it, yet I must apprise you, that the first strong wind off the land may drive them to sea, and that the same wind is favourable to the enemy's gun-boats; and I am sorry to observe, that Languelia, and Alassio, are good places to ride at anchor in, when the same wind would drive any vessel on shore which may be at Pietra. The moment I hear of an attack, you may be assured I shall come round in the Agamemnon, and render you every assistance in my power. I wish the Neapolitan gallies would ever keep in Vado Bay, when they would be nearer to you, but they are always in Savona Mole. I truly lament his Excellency General de Vins' bad state of health, and I beg leave to send my sincere wishes for his speedy recovery.'

[u] From Mr. Drake's collection.

Captain Nelson to General de Vins, dated Nov. 8, 1795.

'Sir: As you are in expectation of a general attack by the French, and think the enemy's gun-boats may be very troublesome in firing on your flank; and as I hold my ships in momentary readiness to come to your assistance; I beg leave to suggest, as the quickest means of my knowing of the attack, that signals by guns, if possible, may be established from Pietra to the fort in Vado. You may rest assured, that the moment I know of the attack, a very short time shall carry the Agamemnon, and every vessel I can collect, to Pietra; for believe me, I have the most sincere disposition to cooperate with your Excellency in the destruction of our enemy.'

Captain Nelson to Mr. Drake, dated Agamemnon, Vado Bay, Nov. 12.

'My dear Sir: I was only yesterday favoured with yours of the 5th, enclosing a bulletin relative to the coast near St. Remo. I had yesterday morning a letter from General de Vins, informing me that the tartans were withdrawn from Borghetto, and that he thinks his position too strong for the French to succeed in any attack they may make. Nothing, I am sure you will believe, will be wanting on the part of my squadron to cover the General's flank by sea. I have requested the General to establish signals by guns, when I should be with him, before they got well warm in the attack. Flora and a brig are now cruising off Noli and Pietra; but I fear they may be blown off the coast. The weather is so severe, that either the French or Austrians must quit the hills: and as some Austrian soldiers have died with the cold on their posts, the enemy cannot be very comfortable. A few days must, I think, give a turn to the face of affairs. Kellerman, I understand, visits every post once in twenty-four hours, and says every thing to encourage the soldiers. Last night brought a report, that the French privateers from Genoa had landed at Voltri, and taken money and other effects belonging to the Austrians. If this account be true, it must alter the system of Genoese neutrality: pray tell me something about it, you must of course be informed of the circumstance, or know it to be a fabrication. I am unmooring, and intend, if the weather be tolerable, to go to-morrow to Pietra for a few hours, to pay my respects to General de Vins, who has been very ill.

'Reports say, and I believe it is true, that Admiral Hotham has struck his flag and given up the command, as also Admiral Goodall; and that Sir Hyde Parker commands the fleet until Sir John Jervis's arrival. Captain Frederick has hoisted a distinguishing pendant, and commands the third division of the fleet. This cannot, my dear Sir, but make me feel, that I am the first officer commanding a squadron, destined to cooperate with the Austrians and Sardinians, who has been without a distinguishing pendant: most have had a broad pendant, but that I neither expected, nor wished for; yet I think, as I have had the pleasure to give satisfaction to our Allies, that the ministry, if you thought proper to represent it, would order me a distinguishing pendant from my having this command, or

some other mark of their favour. Pray excuse this part of my letter: I am assured you will do what is right for me.'

Captain Nelson to H. R. H. the Duke of Clarence,* *Genoa Roads, Nov.* 18, 1795.

'Sir: Almost every day produces such changes in the prospect of our affairs, that in relating events I hardly know where to begin. The two Armies are both so strongly posted, that neither is willing to give the attack; each waits to see which can endure the cold longest. The French General has laid an embargo on all the vessels on the coast, near a hundred sail, and it would not surprise me, if he is meditating a retreat, in case his plans do not succeed; which I hope they will not, as the prevention of them, in a great measure, depends on our naval force under my orders. This has called me here, where a circumstance has arisen, that has given us the alarm sooner than was intended.

'An Austrian Commissary was travelling from Genoa towards Vado, with 10,000*l.* sterling, and it was known he was to sleep at a place called Voltri, about nine miles from Genoa. This temptation was too great for the French Captain of the Brune, in concert with the French Minister, to keep his word of honour; and the boats of that frigate, with some privateers, went out of the port, landed, and brought back the money. The next day, the 11th of November, recruiting was publickly carried on in the town of Genoa, and numbers inlisted; and on the 13th at night, as many men as could be collected were to sail under convoy of the Brune, and to land, and take a strong post of the Genoese, between Genoa and Savona. A hundred men were to have been sent from the French army at Borghetto, and an insurrection of the Genoese peasantry was to have been encouraged; which I believe would have succeeded for several miles up the country. General de Vins must have sent four or five thousand men, probably, from his army, which would have given the enemy a fairer prospect of success in their intended attack. The scheme was bold, but I do not think it would have succeeded in all points.

'However, my arrival here on the 13th in the evening, caused a total change: the frigate, knowing her deserts, and what had been done here before with the transports and privateers, hauled from the outer to the inner Mole, and is got inside the merchant ships, with her powder out, for no ships can go into the inner Mole with powder on board; and, as I have long expected an embarkation from the French army from the westward, to harass General de Vins, there I was fully on my guard. Whilst I remain here no harm can happen, unless, which private information says is likely to take place, that four sail of the line and some frigates are to come here, and take Agamemnon and her squadron. What steps the Austrian Generals, and Ministers, will adopt to get redress, for this I fear allowed breach of neutrality, on the part of the Genoese government, I cannot yet tell.

* From his Royal Highness's collection.

It is a very extraordinary circumstance, but a fact, that since my arrival, respect to the neutral port has not been demanded of me; if it had, my answer was ready, 'That it was useless and impossible for me to give it.' As the breach of the neutrality has not been noticed, I fancy they are aware of my answer, and therefore declined asking the question. A superior force to the French must now always be kept here; but, I own, I think the French will make a push from Toulon to drive us away, that they may do something, and they have no time to lose. Sir Hyde Parker is gone to the westward, and my force is very much reduced, at a time I humbly conceive it wants addition. Admiral Hotham is travelling until the spring; as is Admiral Goodall, who feels much hurt at not getting the command; a braver, or better officer, is seldom to be found. I am in expectation of being ordered to England; the ship, ship's company, and myself, are all out of repair. I beg leave to subscribe myself, your Royal Highness's most attached and faithful Horatio Nelson.'

From the same to the same, dated Nov. 19, 1795.

'The new Doge is now elected, and we hope to get some answer from the government. My situation is the more awkward, as what has happened does not relate to the English Minister, the breach of neutrality being an Austrian business; but, as I am cooperating with the Austrians, it has made me a party. My line of conduct is very clear, as I shall signify at a proper time, 'That if the Genoese government have not the power, nor the inclination, to prevent these expeditions sailing from their ports, it then becomes my business, as far as in me lies, to prevent it; which must be done by keeping a superior force in the port, to sail with them. I hope for the best; but, to say the truth, I think I shall be attacked very soon by a much superior force from Toulon, and I have long begged for two sail of the line to be added to my squadron: Certainly I had no more substantial reason, than what was strongly impressed on my mind, from various reports and conversations: I pray God I may be mistaken, and that Sir Hyde may keep them in port. The number of gunboats collecting both at Toulon, and Nice, can be for no other purpose than to force a landing on this coast; and it would surprise me, should they get a squadron up here, if they did not seize Genoa, and then fourteen days would decide the campaign.'

Admiral Goodall did not strike his flag, without taking leave of his friend, dated Pisa, November 8, 1795. "I could not, my dear Nelson, leave the fleet without saying, what satisfaction it gave me to read, in the public papers, Admiral Hotham's letter to the Admiralty on your late success. It afforded me additional pleasure, as I had so warmly recommended your being employed on that service, from the high opinion I had of your bravery and activity. Go on, and prosper."—On the 20th of November, Captain Nelson sent the following official communication to Admiral Sir Hyde Parker, Commander in Chief for the

[y] From Earl St. Vincent's valuable collection.

time being in the Mediterranean. 'Agamemnon, Genoa Road, 1795. Sir: Upon consultation with his Excellency Mr. Drake, I have determined on sending a vessel to you, with the enclosed Reports of the state of the ships in Toulon. It is needless for me to make any further observations on their contents; but if the enemy's squadron comes on this coast, and lands from three to four thousand men between Genoa and Savona, I am confident that either the whole Austrian army will be defeated, or must inevitably retreat into Piedmont, and abandon their artillery and stores. We are acquainted with the French plans, and of the well-founded expectation they have of raising an insurrection of the Genoese peasantry, in a particular valley between this and Vado. I have not, which probably you know, been on former occasions backward in representing my thoughts to Admiral Hotham, that at one time, or another, the French would make a push for this coast, as also my wishes for a reinforcement of two 74 gun ships, and that the frigates should not be diminished; the latter I am sorry to say is done.

'The extraordinary events which have taken place here, and the expedition which would now sail from this port, were I to withdraw the Agamemnon, will always render it a measure of necessity to keep a superior force to the French at this place; with orders to attack the enemy if they presume to sail: they broke the neutrality, and the Genoese have not called on me for my word to respect it.'

'Nov. 21: I am sorry to add, that the weather is so very bad in this Gulf, that neither sails, nor ships, nor people, can remain at sea for a long time. This morning, at daylight, the Austrians took possession of the French empty magazines at St. Pierre d'Arena, and the centinels are now close to the gates of Genoa. We think General de Vins has done wrong in this instance: He demanded satisfaction and payment of the Genoese government, and, without waiting for the answer, has taken satisfaction himself; had the General done so at first, he would have found full magazines, instead of empty ones: by his conduct he has liberated the Genoese from their difficulties. You may be assured I shall pursue a steady moderate line of conduct.'

The Rev. Edmund Nelson, when at Bath, to his Son Horatio, 1795.

'If your promises, my dear Horatio, and assurances of a speedy return, could be made good by any act of your own, they would remain as unalterable, as a Persian, or a Median law: but both your good wife and myself perceive, that we must not depend, at present, on seeing you.—The unhappy emigrants could gain no footing in their native Country. A Dutch war is commenced. The minister continues to have a great majority in every thing. Sir Charles Middleton has left the Admiralty. You have the treasure of a self-approving mind; for a while, therefore, retire from incessant fatigue. Whatever may be the emoluments of your long and severe service, they are attended with a reputation, which will endure, I believe, as long as the English annals remain; and let me say, such a wealth will descend

and prove invaluable to your survivors.—The Gazette brought us your letter to the Admiralty, August 27, and also Admiral Hotham's, who is neither ignorant of your services, nor willing to conceal them. We have also yours of Sept. 3, and partake of your sorrow for the loss of some of your men: they are committed into the hands of a faithful and all just Creator. My feeble and imperfect petition is daily offered, that the same Providence, which hitherto has ever been your shield, and buckler, in the hour of danger, may still preserve you from The arrow that flyeth by day, and the pestilence that walketh in darkness. In days of peace, you will, I hope, enjoy your cottage: Agreeably to your wishes we have taken a small house here for three years; the sun must return upon us before I can revisit Burnham. God bless you all. Farewell. Edmund Nelson.'

BOOK THE SECOND.

SECTION IV.

From Admiral Sir John Jervis's arrival, as Commander in Chief, in the Mediterranean, November 1795, *to the glorious termination of his Action off Cape St. Vincent, Feb.* 14, 1797.

WHILST SERVING ON BOARD HIS MAJESTY'S SHIPS AGAMEMNON, CAPTAIN, DIADEM, MINERVE, AND IRRESISTIBLE.

Anno Ætat. 38. TOWARDS the end of the year, 1795, Captain Nelson received an order to put himself under the command of Sir John Jervis, K. B. dated on board the Lively, in Gibraltar Bay, Nov. 19. The only acquaintance which the Captain of the Agamemnon had with this officer, was in having been introduced to him by Captain Locker, for whom the Admiral entertained the highest regard. Without presuming to discuss the merit, or demerit of this great naval Commander, it is necessary here to remark, that Nelson found in Sir John Jervis, a mind perfectly congenial with his own; active, enterprising, and determined to pursue against all obstacles, whatever experience, or the passing events of the day, pointed out as his professional or political duty. With the reputation which he had gained in the various gradations of the service, was united a thorough knowledge of the politicks of the British empire, and of Europe, and a keen discrimination of the real character and abilities of those officers who served under him. Naturally of an ambitious disposition, and professionally a strict disciplinarian, he despised the trammels, and sometimes perhaps forgot the feelings which repress common minds; and being determined strictly to execute the important duties that were intrusted to him, he resolved, that every person in

the fleet should rigidly do the same. Such in brief was the officer, who now superseded Vice Admiral Sir Hyde Parker, commander in chief in the Mediterranean for the time being, after Admiral Hotham had struck his flag, and returned to England.

One of the first official communications, which Captain Nelson made to Admiral Sir John Jervis, was a succinct retrospect of the Vado Campaign, the greater part of which has been already inserted. Some further extracts may, however, be made from this valuable document: Mr. Drake in a letter, Sept. 13, had thus delivered his sentiments: 'General de Vins' excuse, about the Court of Turin having made peace, is a mere pretext; to leave him no loop-hole, I have written to him to-day, to assure him formally and ministerially, that it is not true; and you are fully at liberty to repeat to the General, in the strongest manner, these assurances from me.'—On October 26, Mr. Drake had again communicated with Captain Nelson: 'I am just returned to Genoa, from my military excursion: I had intended to have gone from Turin to Savona; but I was so fully persuaded, from every thing I heard and saw, whilst on my tour, that there was no hope of stimulating the Austrian General to any active operations during the campaign, that I thought it better to return to Genoa. I shall be very anxious to hear the result of your visit to the Admiral; and I hope he will have adopted your proposition.'—'The object of my visit,' adds Captain Nelson, 'was to ask the Admiral to give me two 74 gun ships, and as many transports as he had in Leghorn, with the Camel and Dolphin, to have carried the ten thousand men as desired: the Admiral, however, did not think it right to send a ship. On the 1st of November I chased a very large convoy into Allassio, and, by the 8th, they were increased to full one hundred sail, including gun-boats, and other vessels of war; but they were too well protected for me to make any attempt with my small squadron. On the 10th, the French took the Austrian post at Voltri; on the 11th it was retaken; on the 12th, the French were making every exertion for a most vigorous and bold attempt to establish themselves, in a strong post, between Voltri and Savona, and were in hopes of causing an insurrection of the Genoese peasantry. My presence was required at Genoa to prevent this expedition, by Mr. Drake, the Austrian minister, and by the Austrian General commanding at Vado. On the 13th I went to Genoa, and was kept there contrary to my inclination, until after the defeat of the Austrian army on the 23d of November. However, I have the consolation, that to the Agamemnon's staying at Genoa, so many thousands of Austrians owe their safety, by the pass of the Bocchetta being kept open, and amongst others General de Vins himself.'

The ingratitude which the Allies of Great Britain so constantly displayed, to the utter ruin of themselves, and the subsequent overthrow of the political balance of Europe, was rendered still more remarkable, by being directed against the established fame of Captain Nelson, and that of the officers who served with him. A greater instance of the degradation

of the European States cannot easily be reserved for posterity. Notwithstanding all that the resolute Captain of the Agamemnon had performed, his acknowledged integrity, his perseverance, which neither the indolence, nor the half measures of others could abate; they fabricated a malicious falsehood reflecting on that integrity, and, having poisoned the mind of the good old King of Sardinia, endeavoured to abate the confidence which his own government began to place in his services. An official communication from Mr. Drake, gave Captain Nelson the first intelligence of their designs: yielding, therefore, to the impulse of his indignant sensations, and conscious of his uprightness, he immediately addressed the following letter to Lord Grenville, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, dated Agamemnon, Genoa Road, November 23, 1795. 'My Lord: Having received, from Mr. Drake, a copy of your Lordship's letter to him in October, enclosing a paper highly reflecting on the honour of myself, and other of his Majesty's Officers employed on this coast under my orders, it well becomes me, as far as in my power lies, to wipe away this ignominious stain on our characters. I do, therefore, in behalf of myself, and much injured brethren, demand, That the person, whoever he may be, that wrote, or gave that paper to your Lordship, should fully, and expressly, bring home his charge; which, as he states that this agreement is made by numbers of people on both sides, there can be no difficulty in doing. We dare him, my Lord, to the proof. If he cannot, I do humbly implore, that his Majesty will be most graciously pleased to direct his Attorney General to prosecute this infamous libeller in his Majesty's courts of law; and I likewise feel, that, without impropriety, I may on behalf of my brother Officers, demand the support of his Majesty's Ministers: for, as if true, no punishment can be too great for the Traitors, so, if false, none can be too heavy for the Villain, who has dared to allow his pen to write such a paper. Perhaps I ought to close my letter here; but I feel too much to rest easy for a moment, when the honour of the Navy, and our Country, is struck at through us; for if ten Captains, whom chance has thrown together, can instantly join in such a traitorous measure, it is fair to conclude we are all bad.

'As this traitorous agreement could not be carried on, but by concert of all the Captains, if they were on the stations allotted them; and, as they could only be drawn from those stations by orders from me, I do most fully acquit all my brother Captains from such a combination, and have to request, That I may be considered as the only responsible person for what is done under my command, if I approve of the conduct of those under my orders, which in this most public manner I beg leave to do: for Officers more alert, and more anxious for the good, and honour, of their King and Country, can scarcely ever fall to the lot of any commanding officer; their names[z] I place at the end of this

[z] Captains Freemantle, Hope, Cockburn, Hon. C. Elphinstone, Shields, Middleton, Plampin, Brisbane, T. Elphinstone, M'Namara.

letter. For myself, from my earliest youth I have been in the Naval Service; and in two wars, have been in more than one hundred and forty skirmishes, and battles, at sea and on shore; have lost an eye, and have often bled in fighting the enemies of my King and Country; and God knows, instead of Riches, my little fortune has been diminished in the service: But I shall not trouble your Lordship further at present, than just to say, That at the close of this Campaign, where I have had the pleasure to receive the approbation of the Generals of the allied powers; of his Excellency Mr. Drake, who has been always on the spot; of Mr. Trevor, who has been at a distance; when I expected and hoped, from the representations of his Majesty's Ministers, that his Majesty would have most graciously condescended to have favourably noticed my earnest desire to serve him, instead of all my fancied approbation, to receive an accusation of a most traitorous nature—it has almost been too much for me to bear—Conscious Innocence, I hope, will support me.'

As the subject of this letter was of so delicate and extraordinary a nature, it was deemed expedient, previous to its meeting the public eye, that it should be laid before the Hon. Mr. Trevor;[a] and the following is the answer which he transmitted. 'I return you the very energetic letter of my late noble friend: it was no doubt addressed to Lord Grenville, from whom the paper alluded to must have been officially sent to Mr. Drake. A scandalous and calumniating suspicion prevailed at that time amongst the Allies, that there existed a criminal connivance between the British cruisers in the Mediterranean, and the coasting vessels of the enemy; whereby they were permitted to land their cargoes for the supply of the French army in the Riviera of Genoa.

'The fact was, that the French army was most provokingly supplied by sea, notwithstanding the British ships who were stationed off the coast: but it was by no means for want of every exertion on their part, much less from any treachery. Without condescending to repel an accusation, as groundless as it was injurious, the thing spoke for itself upon a moment's reflection: for neither we, nor the Allies, had any small craft that could approach the shore; whilst the supplies were smuggled along the coast by night, in light vessels, in spite of every thing which our frigates, or sloops of war, could do to prevent it. I was sent to Milan to confer with the Austrian General, and Admiral Goodall, on this subject, and other matters of cooperation: We suggested the only remedy that could be devised, which was that of getting some gallies, and row-boats, from Genoa, or Civita Vecchia.

'I never saw the injurious paper in question: from his ignorance of naval affairs, the Austrian Commander, who felt the effects of the misfortune without sufficiently attending to its cause, easily listened to the misrepresentations that were made to him upon the subject, and transmitted them to his Court; whence, or through the medium of that of Turin,

[a] The letter was transmitted by the Viscountess Percival to Mr. Trevor, and the subsequent answer in explanation of the subject is addressed to her Ladyship, dated Nov. 29, 1807.

they reached England. The accusation was probably vague and general; it does not appear, that any names were mentioned; the nature and the channel of the information, did not admit of any public refutation of it; and Commodore Nelson's letter, as well as Mr. Drake's answer, would have been more than sufficient to obliterate in a moment any attention that might have been given to it by government.

'With regard to the mention, made in Nelson's letter, of my approbation of his conduct, I cannot help adding a little on that subject, because it belongs to one of the circumstances in my life, which I recollect with the greatest pleasure. It was I think in 1795, that this great man, with whom I had been in official correspondence, and, with whom and Mr. Drake, many conferences had been held on board the Agamemnon, and whom I even then looked up to with admiration; sent me a letter expressive of uneasiness and disappointment, that his ardour and faithful services had not been more favourably attended to by government, and requesting me, to furnish him with a letter to ministers expressive of my sense of his services, as far as they had fallen within the sphere of my observation, or knowledge. I have often regretted that this letter, which subsequent events have since made a curious and interesting document, was burnt with my papers at Turin, but I possess a copy of my answer to it, which concluded with these words, 'And I shall ever consider it as the proudest circumstance in my life, that such a character, as Commodore Nelson's, should have thought a testimonial of mine could add any thing to its lustre.'

Captain Nelson to Mr. Drake,[b] *dated Agamemnon, Genoa Road, Nov 27, 1795.*

'Sir: As I have heard from reports that the retreat of the Austrian army is laid to want of cooperation on the part of the British squadron, it becomes me to state a few facts, by which your Excellency can form a judgment of my conduct; and in which I flatter myself will appear, that nothing has been wanting on my part to give every possible energy to the operations of the Austrians. A frigate was always anchored near Pietra, until the season was such as to render that measure no longer possible; for it was persevered in until two of his Majesty's ships were nearly lost. When this defence was taken away in the first week in November, I stationed the Flora and Speedy brig off Cape Noli, within six miles of Pietra; but at the same time I informed General de Vins, that I considered them by no means so ready to afford assistance in case of an attack, as if they lay at a greater distance in Vado: The event has justified my fears; for the Speedy has never since been heard of, and the Flora from some cause, which I am at present unacquainted with, is gone to Leghorn. The Agamemnon lay at single anchor in Vado Bay, with the two Neapolitan gallies, ready to proceed on the first gun being fired by the enemy, and so anxious was I to render every assistance to our Allies, that I requested General de Vins to establish a signal by

[b] Mr. Drake's collection.

guns from Pietra to Vado, that I might be with him, if the wind was fair, long before any messenger could have reached Vado. On the 9th of November, General de Vins sent me word, that he believed the French thought his position too strong to be attacked, and that, as he was coming from Savona in a few days, we would talk over the subject of signals. The demand made of my assistance here, I shall not enter into; the cause of it, of my remaining here, and the salvation of many thousand Austrian troops, and of General de Vins himself, are fully known to your Excellency. I shall therefore only state further, that the Lowestoffe, Inconstant, and Southampton, have been taken from my squadron, and the ship that was ordered to replace them, has never yet come under my orders: I therefore trust it will appear in this short Statement, that nothing has been wanting on my part to give full effect to every operation of the Austrians; and that the force under my command has been so employed, as will meet the approbation of our Sovereign, your Excellency, and his Majesty's ministers. Whenever a more full, or more particular account of my conduct is demanded, I have no doubt but I shall be found not only free from blame, but worthy of approbation.'

His correspondence with Mrs. Nelson, occasionally gives a nearer view of the real sentiments of this great and extraordinary man. On the 2d of December, 1795, when at sea, he said, ' Lord Hood will have discovered, that from my last letter to him respecting the defeat of the Austrians on the 23d of November, the loss of Vado would consequently follow. Tell him, the French had collected full an hundred sail of vessels, in case of failure, to carry off their troops; they had also ten or twelve gun-vessels, as many privateers, and a man of war brig. I described to the Admiral the great service, that the destruction of these vessels would be of, many of them being laden with corn, on which the French General had laid an embargo; and, as I had not force enough, I begged of the Admiral, if he came to sea, to look at this fleet himself, offering, if he would permit me the honour, to lead the Culloden and Courageux to the attack, and with my then squadron of frigates, to take or destroy the whole: I pretend not to say, the Austrians would not have been beat, had not the gun-boats harassed them, for on my conscience I believe they would; but I believe the French would not have attacked, had we destroyed all the vessels of war, transports, &c. The Austrians, by all accounts, did not stand firm. The French, half naked, were determined to conquer or die; and had I not, though I own against my inclination, been kept at Genoa, from eight to ten thousand men would have been taken prisoners, and amongst the number General de Vins himself. For the French plan, well laid, was to possess a post in the road these people fled by, retreat it could not be called, for, except a part of the army under General Wallis of about ten thousand men, it was, the Devil take the hindmost. I had a lieutenant, two midshipmen, and sixteen men taken at Vado; the purser of the ship, who was there, ran with the Austrians

eighteen miles without stopping, the men without any arms whatever, officers without soldiers, women without assistance. Thus has ended my Campaign ..... Let the blame be where it may, I do not believe any party will seriously lay it at my door; and if they do, I am perfectly easy as to the consequences. I sincerely hope an inquiry may take place, the world would then know how hard I have fagged.—The weather has been most intensely cold. Sir John Jervis arrived at St. Fiorenzo on the 29th of November, to the great joy of some, and sorrow of others.'

The loss of Vado Bay was severely felt by the zealous Captain of the Agamemnon, and in writing to Admiral Sir Hyde Parker, on the 2d of December, 1795, he said, 'I assure you, Sir, I never more regretted the not being able to divide the Agamemnon: I was in Vado Bay on the 9th of November, and saw the French in full possession. Meleager joined on the 30th; when I directed Captain Cockburn to cruise off the Bay, to prevent any of our ships from going in; and to perform such other services of the Port of Genoa, as on consultation with his Excellency Mr. Drake, may be found most beneficial for his Majesty's service.'

In a letter to Sir Gilbert Elliot,[c] dated Agamemnon at sea, Dec. 4, 1795, Captain Nelson gave an ample detail of these disastrous events near Genoa. 'Dear Sir: My Campaign is closed by the defeat of the Austrian army, and the consequent loss of Vado, and every place in the Riviera of Genoa; and I am on my way to refit poor Agamemnon, and her miserable ship's company at Leghorn. We are, indeed, worn out. Except six days, I have never been one hour off the station. The extraordinary events which have taken place near Genoa; and the plan which was laid by the French, to take post between Voltri and Savona, perhaps you are acquainted with; if not I will inform you. Seven hundred men were enlisted and embarked, with 7000 stand of arms, on board the Braave French frigate in Genoa, and many small lateen vessels. These, on a certain night, were to have landed in a strong post between Voltri and Savona, to be joined in small feluccas by 1000 men from Borghetto; and an insurrection of the Genoese peasantry, we have every reason to believe, would have been made, for forty miles up a valley towards Piedmont; but the money going from Genoa, tempted these people to make an attack before their time, which certainly caused the plan to miscarry. Great preparation being made at Genoa, the Agamemnon was called for, might and main, to prevent the plan, which I most effectually did; and so fearful were the Imperial Minister, and General, of my leaving Genoa, that I was told, If I quitted Genoa, the loss of 3000 Austrians would be the certain consequence. Thus I was placed in a cleft stick; if I left Genoa, the loss of 3000 men would be laid to my charge, and if I was not at Pietra, the gun-boats would unmo-

[c] Lord Minto's Collection.

lested harass the left flank of the army, and their defeat might very probably be laid to the want of assistance from Agamemnon.'

The Agamemnon arrived at Leghorn Dec. 6, 1795; and on the 8th, Captain Nelson informed Sir Hyde Parker, that the Lowestoffe and convoy, owing to the precaution of leaving the Meleager, Captain Cockburn, off Vado, had been saved. He also on the same day sent the following letter to Mr. Drake, being anxious to have every proof that could be procured of the indefatigable services of the Agamemnon. 'We have just heard, Sir, of your arrival at Alessandria. I have two requests to make, which I trust you will grant; the one is, A copy of the paper, I sent you by the Genoese secretary of state, containing the number of inhabitants in the Riviera, and the quantity of provisions wanted for their use for two months; and such other papers as may shew clearly to the Court of Admiralty, that it was perfectly understood by the Genoese government, that all vessels which were bound to any place in possession of the French, who had not passports from the government, or from your Excellency and General de Vins, would be taken, and their cargoes made prizes. The next request much more concerns my honour, than the other does my interest—It is to prove to the world, to my own Admiral, or to whoever may have a right to ask the question, Why I remained at Genoa. I have therefore to desire, That you will have the goodness to express in writing, what you told me, That the Imperial Minister and yourself were assured, if I left the Port of Genoa unguarded, not only the Imperial troops at St. Pierre d'Arena and Voltri would be lost, but that the French plan for taking post between Voltri and Savona would certainly succeed; and also, that if the Austrians should be worsted in the advanced posts, the retreat by the Bocchetta would be cut off: To which you added, that if this happened, the loss of the army would be laid to my leaving Genoa, and recommended me most strongly not to think of it. The Imperial Minister's wanting more force, is needless to mention, unless you think it right. I am anxious, as you will believe, to have proofs in my possession, that I employed to the last the Agamemnon as was judged most beneficial to the Common Cause.'

In a letter to the Rev. Mr. Hoste,[d] dated Dec. 12, he entered into a justification of his late proceedings at Vado, and gave some further account of the defeat of the Austrian army. 'The Austrians will make the most of their want of a naval force. My squadron was certainly kept too small for its duty, and the moment Sir Hyde Parker took the command of the fleet, he reduced it to nothing, only one frigate and a brig; whereas I had demanded two seventy-fours, and eight or ten frigates and sloops, to insure safety to the army. However, on inquiry, which I trust will take place on my own account, it will appear, that the centre and right wing gave way; and that, although it must have been

[d] From Mr. Hoste's Collection.

very unpleasant to have had a number of gun-boats firing on them, the left of the Army was the only part of it that was not defeated, but retreated in a body; whereas the others fled. General de Vins from ill health, as he says, gave up the command in the midst of the battle; and from that moment, not a soldier staid at his post: many thousands ran away, who had never seen the enemy, some of them thirty miles from the advanced posts. We have established the French Republic, which but for us, I verily believe, would never have been settled by such a volatile changeable people. I hate a Frenchman, they are equally objects of my detestation, whether royalists or republicans; in some points I believe the latter are the best. Sir John Jervis took the command of the fleet on the 29th of November at St. Fiorenzo. Believe me, dear Sir, yours very faithfully.'

Captain Nelson to Mr. Drake, dated Leghorn, Dec. 16, 1795.

'My dear Sir: The Prince of Esterhazy, one of General de Vins' aid de camps, is here: he brought, as I understand, a letter from General Wallis to Sir Hyde Parker, declaring, that the check of the Austrian army was owing to the non-cooperation of the English; and the Prince, it seems, asserts this every where. I met him yesterday, when he was pleased to say, that they were assured, if I had possessed the means, it would not have happened: I did not choose to enter deeply on the subject. I think we have a strong hold on General Wallis, and in my opinion we ought not to let it slip; this has been my inducement for writing to him: therefore, if you see no impropriety in the letter, may I beg you will forward it to him? I sincerely hope it will produce an answer. However I request, if you think it improper for me to write to General Wallis, and to allow his own, or his army's unrepelled assertions to keep their ground (which by the bye if they do, it is more than they did), I then, Sir, hope you will suppress the letter. If the General's public letter should reflect on me, I must in my own defence write to the Admiralty; for I will not sit quiet, and hear what I do every day. My health is but so so, to say the truth my mind is uneasy; although I feel a clear conscience that no part of the evil is owing to my want of exertion. Our fleet is gone to the westward: and two sail of the line, and three frigates, are sent up the Levant; L'Aigle and Cyclops escaped very narrowly, and we have our fears for the Nemesis. Flora was detached from my command about the time of the action, and Sir Hyde intended to take every large frigate from me; and in short, except Meleager, to send nothing that could be useful. The language held after Admiral Hotham's departure, was less inclinable to come near us, or assist us, than ever: so you see blame must have fallen on the Navy some time or other; and, as Commanding Officer, I must have ever been held up to the Army as the responsible person. Excuse all the latter part of this letter: my mind is uneasy.'

Captain Nelson received some information of the appearance and state of the French Army, after their late victory, from his officers who had been made prisoners at Vado,

and he communicated this account, on the 18th of December, 1795, when writing to his wife. 'I have had letters from my poor lieutenants and midshipmen, telling me, that few of the French soldiers are more than 23 or 24 years old; a great many do not exceed 14 years, all without clothes; and my officers add, they are sure my barge's crew would have beat a hundred of them, and that, had I seen them, I should not have thought, if the world had been covered with such people, that they could have beat the Austrian army. The oldest officers say, they never heard of so complete a defeat, and certainly without any reason. The King of Sardinia was very near concluding a hasty peace in the panic: however, I believe, we shall now make peace, when the Emperor must do the same. I only hope we shall if possible keep St. Domingo; if we can, the expences of the war are nothing to what we shall gain. The French have detached a squadron towards Constantinople, and many think the Turks will join them: Captain Troubridge is sent on this service with some ships; if he gets hold of them, they will not easily escape. Mr. Hinton, who was my first lieutenant, and Andrews, have both been promoted from the services of Agamemnon. Reports say I am to be offered the St. George, 90, as Sir Hyde Parker is going into the Britannia; or else the Zealous, 74, as Lord Hervey wants a 90 gun ship. Sir John Jervis seems determined to be active, and I hope he will continue so. My kindest remembrances to my Father.'

Captain Nelson to Admiral Sir John Jervis,[e] *K. B. dated Leghorn Roads, Dec.* 21, 1795.

'Sir: I cannot allow the Lively, Captain Lord Garlies, to have a chance of falling in with you, without bringing some account of the state of the Agamemnon. We are getting on very fast with our caulking; our head is secured; our rigging nearly overhauled; and our other wants in as great a state of forwardness, as I could expect at this season of the year; and by the first week in January, I hope that Agamemnon will be as fit for sea, as a rotten[f] ship can be. I have written to Genoa, directing Captain Cockburn to take the ships in that port under his protection to Leghorn; but should they, from any change of circumstances, not wish to leave Genoa, the Meleager is then to join me here, by Dec. 31, when I shall order Captain Cockburn to be ready for sea. By letters from Mr. Drake of Dec. 8th, from Milan, it appears, that the French, after having attempted to get into the plain of Piedmont, in which they failed, had retired into winter-quarters. The loss of the Austrian army is not yet ascertained, but it is supposed to exceed 4,500 men killed, wounded and deserters. General Wallis has 18,000 men with him, and stragglers are joining their corps very fast: he is near Acqui, in a very good position for the defence of

[e] Earl St. Vincent's collection.

[f] When the Agamemnon came into dock to be refitted, there was not a mast, yard, sail, nor any part of the rigging, but was obliged to be repaired, owing to the shot she had received. Her hull had been long secured by cables served round.

Piedmont. I understand the General has written to Sir Hyde Parker, since his defeat, but which I hear he is pleased to call a check, complaining of a want of cooperation on our parts: I take for granted, Sir, neither Sir Hyde nor yourself, will fully answer his letter, until I have an opportunity of explaining the whole of my conduct. His Excellency Mr. Drake, his Majesty's Minister at the head quarters of the Army, to whom I always communicated all my proceedings, has borne to Lord Grenville the fullest approbation of my conduct. I shall only trouble you with one observation, that will almost furnish an answer to any letter General Wallis may have written: That part of the Austrian army which had to sustain an attack in front, as well as the *terrible fire* of the gun-boats, was the only part of the Army that was not forced, and the only part which retreated in a body: a clear proof to my mind, that either the gun-boats did little or no mischief, or that the other parts of the line were not equally well defended. I have written to General Wallis to congratulate him, that (under the great misfortune) where he commanded, all went well. I have been long on my guard against these gentlemen; and months ago apprized them of what would one day happen; but they believed themselves invincible.'

Towards the end of the year 1795, Sir Charles Middleton resigned his seat at the Admiralty, and on the 2d of December, Captain William Young, who had commanded his Majesty's ship Fortitude in the Mediterranean, was appointed to the Board, at which Earl Spencer[g] continued to preside. If we consider the political aspect of Italy, at the beginning of the ensuing year, we shall perceive an extraordinary want of national energy, and a general weakness throughout its different States, accompanied with that fatal supineness, which has generally preceded the dissolution of governments. The royal house of Sardinia, the guardian of the Alps, and consequently the natural bulwark of Italy, was indeed represented by the good Monarch, Victor-Amèdée, as great, and as much beloved, as any of his illustrious ancestors; but the intrigues, and seditious practices, which the French fomented throughout the whole of his Piedmontese dominions, rendered the zeal of this Sovereign ineffectual, and even his power precarious. The Court of Naples, owing to the spirit of its Queen, who at that time was convulsed at the name of a Frenchman, appeared ready to make exertions for the support of the good cause: but a variety of reasons prevented this Court from acting with a corresponding degree of energy. The Nation was loyal, but its Government had grown feeble; and its Statesmen had no fixed principle of public integrity. The unfortunate Pontiff, Pius VI. although deeply affected at the impending dangers, entertained hopes of averting the ruin, with which the States of

[g] *Charles George, Lord Arden.*
Charles Small Pybus, Esq.
Admiral Lord H. Seymour Conway.
Philip Stephens, Esq.
Admiral J. Gambier.

the church of Rome were threatened, by remaining inactive, and becoming a silent spectator of the overwhelming devastation. That excellent Prince, Ferdinand, Grand Duke of Tuscany, with the highest sense of moderation and liberality, was assisted by the great political abilities of his Minister Manfredini, and the diplomatic experience of the Comte Carletti; but both were foiled by the new measures, and barefaced depredations of the French, whose rapacity they vainly expected to lull asleep by unbounded concessions. The Republic of Venice was governed by the Doge Manin, and by some distinguished Senators, who whilst they wished at any rate to preserve their independence, were at the same time fearful of forfeiting their landed property in Terra Firma. The Doge of Genoa, Brignole, though well intentioned, was a man of no abilities; nor were his colleagues in government, in any respect, his superiors: the Genoese Nobles, although proverbially proud, and retaining an utter detestation of the French, had all considerable sums of money invested in the French funds, and were all equally jealous of the good King of Sardinia, whom they considered as the natural enemy of their independence; they also wished to take advantage of the general confusion, to become in a great measure the exclusive carriers of the French, and for a long time deluded themselves by believing, that when the Directory had sworn destruction to monarchies, they had resolved to spare republics.

Such was the general State of Italy, when the destroying genius of Buonaparte was sent to consummate its misery. Having through the means of Barras, and a marriage with the lady he recommended, obtained the command of the French army in Italy, this young and enterprising General arrived at his head-quarters early in the spring of 1796. General Beaulieu was appointed, after some time, to the command of the Emperor's forces, and General Colli continued at the head of the Sardinian troops.

On the 6th of January, 1796, whilst the Agamemnon remained at Leghorn to refit, Captain Nelson in writing to his wife, said, 'The French, I am certain, will this Spring make a great exertion to get into Italy, and I think Sir John Jervis must be active to keep them out. By the 1st of February, fifteen sail of the line will be ready at Toulon, with 140 transports, and 200 flat boats adapted for the coast of Italy. The prevention of the intentions of the enemy requires great foresight; for, if once landed, our fleet is of no use, and theirs would retire into Toulon, or some secure port: had they done so last year, where would have been the advantage of our Action? The French will improve on their last year's folly: I am convinced in my own mind, that I know their very landing place; if they mean to carry on the war, they must penetrate into Italy. Holland and Flanders, with their own Country, they have entirely stripped; Italy is the gold mine, and, if once entered, is without the means of resistance.—Jan. 8. Our news, that the French are retiring from Holland, confirms in my mind their intention to force Italy; nothing else can save them, in any peace that may be near at hand. My Officers and people, who are pri-

soners in France, are exceedingly well treated, particularly so by the Naval Officers; and, as they say, because they belong to the Agamemnon, whose character is well known throughout the republic.'

On the 7th of January, his Excellency Mr. Drake returned the following answer to Captain Nelson's letter: ' I have the honour to transmit you copies of eight notes, which I believe comprehend the whole of what I received from the government of Genoa, respecting the passage of subsistence to the inhabitants of the Riviera . . . . With respect to your request, I cannot possibly have any difficulty in repeating to you in writing, what I had so frequently the honour of stating to you in person, whilst the Agamemnon was at Genoa: the substance of these statements was, that by the express solicitations of the Imperial Chargé d'affaires, I wrote to desire your presence at Genoa, in order to prevent the crew of the French frigate, and the Corps Franc of Jauffier, from making a second attempt to land at Voltri, and thereby to cut off the communication of the Austrian army with Genoa, and with the road of the Bocchetta.—Your continuance at Genoa was in compliance with the wishes of the Austrian Chargé d'affaires, of the Colonel commanding the Austrian troops at S. Pier d'Arena, and of myself. It is to the presence of the Agamemnon, that the Corps stationed at S. Pier d'Arena owes its safety; and it was that cause alone, which enabled several thousands of Austrian soldiers, as well as the Commander in Chief himself, to effect their retreat by way of Voltri, Rivarola, and the Bocchetta. It certainly was unfortunate that your squadron should have been so reduced, as to have rendered it impossible for you to provide for every service, which was required of you by the Austrian Generals: but I am entirely persuaded, that on this, as well as on every other occasion, you employed the force, which you had, in the manner the most beneficial to the common cause; and it is with great satisfaction I assure you, that anxious as the Austrian Generals are, to transfer the blame of the misfortunes of the 23d of November, from themselves to us, they have always done ample justice to your zealous and able conduct: their complaints turn upon the insufficiency of the force under your command, and not upon the mode in which that force was employed. But if your squadron had been much more considerable than it was, I doubt very much if you could have rendered General de Vins such effectual assistance, as to have turned the events of the day in his favour. The enclosed report, which was drawn up by an officer who was present at all the attacks, contains a very faithful narrative of the whole business; and evidently shews, that the disasters of the Imperial army must be solely attributed to General Argenteau's not having been reinforced in time, to prevent the enemy from possessing themselves of the important posts of Sette Pani, and St. Giacomo. This latter post was taken by the enemy in the night of the 23d, or early in the morning of the 24th; from that moment the retreat of the Imperial Army became indispensable, and the whole Navy of Great Britain could not have saved it.

'I have not yet sent your letter to General Wallis, as I wish to submit to your consideration, Whether it would be proper either for you, or me, to offer any justification of our conduct to a foreign general; when it is to our Sovereign, and his Ministers alone, that we are accountable. I have already written to Lord Grenville on the subject of the complaints of the Austrian officers; and I have on this, as well as on every other occasion, borne testimony to the zeal, activity, and prudence, which so eminently distinguished the whole of your conduct during the term of your command at Vado; and I have assured his Lordship, that both you, and myself, will be ready to give any further explanations of our conduct that may be required of us, or which the assertions of the Austrian Generals may render necessary. It appears to me therefore that we should rest here, and that we ought to remain silent, until some specific charges are brought forward by the Austrian Generals. If, however, you should think differently, I will either send your letter to General Wallis, or make any other communication to him which you may point out.

'Whilst I am upon this subject, I cannot omit mentioning to you a circumstance, which will clearly evince, with what readiness, and upon what slight grounds, the Austrian Generals seize every circumstance that may tend to throw on our shoulders a share of that blame, which belongs so exclusively to themselves. Whilst I was at Alessandria, I heard that the most bitter animadversions were made on the conduct of one of our ships of war, which appeared in Vado Bay on the 25th of November, and refused to give the Austrians any assistance in protecting their retreat. Being desirous of clearing up this story, I mentioned the affair to General Wallis, and assured him, that I would make complaints at home against the Captain of the ship alluded to, if he had been guilty of any misconduct. The General confirmed the truth of the reports which I had heard, and informed me further, that the Captain had written to him on the 25th, to offer the assistance of his ship: that he (the General) wrote to him in answer, to confide to him the plan of evacuating Vado on the following day, the 26th; earnestly requesting him, at the same time, to remain in the bay, in order to assist in covering his retreat: The English Captain however, so far from attending to this request, immediately set sail, and left the bay. This statement of General Wallis surprised me very much, and I requested him to shew me the letter of the Captain, containing his offer of assistance; in order that I might learn his name, and be enabled to represent his conduct to the Admiral of the fleet, and to his Majesty's Ministers at home. The letter was produced, when I found it to be written by the Master's mate, or some other subordinate officer of the Agamemnon, who was left on board a merchant ship as prize-master, and was to the following purport. "Having heard that the Austrian army is about to evacuate Vado, and that the French are expected here; I beg to ask you, if there is any truth in the report, as myself and several other seamen, who have been left here by Captain Nelson on board a prize, wish to take measures for our safety."

'This letter was addressed to General Wallis; but as neither he nor any of his officers understood much English, the contents of it were misinterpreted; and it was upon this misinterpretation, that the whole of the story was built, and that such severe reflections were cast on the conduct of the Captain of the supposed ship of war. I explained the letter to General Wallis, in the presence of many of his officers; and the General expressed himself extremely sorry, that he should have mistaken the purport of it.'

Mr. Drake's letter was answered by Captain Nelson from Leghorn, on the 15th of January, 1796: he acknowledged the justice of Mr. Drake's ideas, and added, 'My feelings ever alive, perhaps, to too nice a sense of honour, are a little cooled.'—On the 19th the Agamemnon joined Sir John Jervis' fleet in Fiorenzo Bay, where Captain Nelson had his first interview with that Admiral; who, notwithstanding the jealousy and envy that prevailed against Nelson, very soon became his steady and liberal patron. The next day the following account[h] of his reception was sent to Mrs. Nelson. 'We were received, not only with the greatest attention, but with much apparent friendship. Sir John Jervis' offer of either the St. George, 90, or Zealous, 74, was declined; but with that respect, and sense of obligation on my part, which such handsome conduct demanded of me. I found the Admiral anxious to know many things, which I was a good deal surprised to find had not been communicated to him from others in the fleet; and it would appear, that he was so well satisfied with my opinion of what is likely to happen, and the means of prevention to be taken, that he had no reserve with me respecting his information, and ideas, of what is likely to be done: he concluded by asking me, If I should have any objection to serve under him, with my flag. My answer was, That if I were ordered to hoist my flag, I should certainly be happy in serving under him; but if Agamemnon were ordered to go home, and my flag were not arrived, I should on many accounts wish to return to England; yet still, if the war continued, I should be very proud of the honour of hoisting my flag under his command: and, I rather believe, Sir John Jervis writes home this day, that if the fleet is kept here, my flag, on a promotion, may be sent to the Mediterranean. The credit I derive from all these compliments must be satisfactory to you; and, should I remain until peace, which cannot be very long, you will, I sincerely hope, make your mind easy. Yet, sometimes, notwithstanding all I have said, I think my promotion will be announced, and that I shall have a land voyage: be it as it may, I shall take it easy. Agamemnon is just going to sea, and I can assure you, that my health was never better than at this moment.'

The Rev. Edmund Nelson to his Son Horatio, dated Jan. 4, 1796.

'The commencement of a new year, calls on a Father's tender and affectionate feelings, to rejoice with you on the many extraordinary escapes you have experienced, which

[h] Viscountess Nelson's Collection.

do evidence a providential hand that has guarded you from impending dangers: may that Great and Good Being still be your Shield and Defender. I have also further joy in perceiving those self-approving reflections, which arise from a consciousness of having done all, that the great trust reposed in you could require; and this you must feel in the highest degree. May you, my dear Son, add year to year through a long life, with the indescribable delight, that your own heart condemns you not. It is difficult, within the narrow limits of an epistle, sufficiently to gratify a Son, who claims every mark of parental regard that language can express; and little more than verbal expressions has ever been within the compass of my abilities, and very confined sphere of action, to bestow.—God has blessed me infinitely, even beyond hope, by length of days, to see my posterity in possession of, what is more durable than riches, or honours, a good name, an amiable disposition, upright conduct, and pure religion: These must be the supporters of public fame, and they will fight in its defence, against envy and calumny. The almost daily proofs of your faithful observance of your various professional duties, are pleasing compensations for your long absence: every disappointment has its consolation, every storm its succeeding sunshine; and we bring this home immediately to ourselves. You are now in the very meridian of life, and have daily opportunities of growing rich in knowledge, of filling your honest and well disposed heart with the stores of good grain, which in time to come, when the mental powers shall decay, shall prove a treasure, and make good what time has stolen away. Old age is only made pleasant by happy reflections, and by reaping the harvest we have sown in youth. Be assured, my good Son, I now regret to find, that my stock in this respect is low: my education, situation in life, and opportunities of improvement, have been all against me. But, thank God! I still retain some sources of delight. My setting Sun is clearer, than when it was mid-day. My blessings are innumerable; my wishes most abundantly fulfilled. God bless you! and prosper all you undertake. Farewell. Edmund Nelson.'—Such letters, as Mr. Roscoe[i] observes of one addressed by Lorenzo de Medici to his celebrated son, may be considered as the guide of the future life and fortunes of the person to whom they were addressed: they could not fail of making a lasting impression on his affectionate and religious disposition.

Captain Nelson soon perceived, that the active and enterprising mind of Sir John Jervis was congenial with his own. Before the Agamemnon sailed from Fiorenzo, they had frequent conferences together; and the former was not long in acquiring that confidence from his Admiral, which gradually enabled Nelson to attain the summit of his own ambition, and eventually to promote the renown of his Commander in Chief. His correspondence with Sir John Jervis, at first merely gave the official detail of the services on which the Agamemnon was employed. On the 23d of January, 1797, in writing to the Admiral,

[i] Vol. II. 8vo. edition, p. 196.

he said, ' I yesterday, Sir, joined the Meleager, and Blanche, but the weather was too bad to have any communication until this morning; there is no appearance of any number of vessels being collected, from Nice to Genoa, and no vessel of war; therefore any large embarkation cannot at present be intended on this coast. As to a mere plundering party, in a few feluccas, it is perhaps out of the power of our whole squadron to prevent it; but I shall do my best. I sent the Blanche to Genoa with letters for Mr. Trevor, and Mr. Drake, requesting them to give me all the information in their power, respecting the Austrian and Sardinian, as well as the French armies, and also the Toulon fleet.'

Mr. Trevor in reply, from Turin, February 6, expressed his regret that the Allied Armies were at that time so far removed from the sphere of Captain Nelson's exertions, and gave it as his opinion, that the ensuing Campaign would be very warm on that side; the particular service which he recommended to the fleet, was to prevent all communication along shore; and he strongly urged, that proper armed vessels should be employed for that purpose. On the 13th he added, ' The war appears now to be more certain, all negotiations with the Court of Turin are at an end.'

* * *Captain Nelson to Mrs. Nelson, Gulf of Genoa, Jan.* 27, 1796.

' I sent you a line just as I was getting under sail from St. Fiorenzo. The fleet was not a little surprised at my leaving them so soon, and, I fancy, there was some degree of envy attached to the surprise; for one Captain told me, " You did just as you pleased in Lord Hood's time, the same in Admiral Hotham's, and now again with Sir John Jervis; it makes no difference to you who is Commander in Chief:" I returned a pretty strong answer to this speech. My command here is to prevent any small number of men from making a descent in Italy. I hear no more of this promotion, and I sincerely hope they will put it off a little longer; unless, which I cannot well expect, they should send me out my flag. My health was never better.'

On the 12th of February, the Agamemnon arrived at Leghorn with a convoy from Genoa; and having there joined Sir John Jervis again, with his whole fleet, on the next day returned to her station. In writing from Leghorn to his wife, Captain Nelson observed, ' The French are making great preparations for opening the Campaign in Italy; and if the Austrians, and Piedmontese, do not exert themselves, Turin will be lost, and of course all Piedmont: Sardinia is in rebellion. I now see no prospect of peace. Before the King's Speech appeared I had hopes; but from that moment I gave it up. Our new Admiral will not land at Leghorn.'

Off the Hieres Islands, in continuation, Feb. 17, 1796. ' Time, my dear Fanny, will soon wear away, when we shall, I doubt not, possess a Cottage of our own, and an ample income to live on; if not in luxury, at least in comfort. As yet, I appear to stand well with Sir John Jervis, and it shall not be my fault, if I do not continue to do so: my con-

duct has no mystery. I freely communicate my knowledge and observations, and only wish, that whatever Admiral I serve under, may make a proper use of it. God forbid, I should have any other consideration on service, than the good of my Country.—I am now sent to examine the state of the ships in Toulon; their numbers we know full well, but the accounts of the state they are in, are so contradictory, as to leave us uncertain. Sir John Jervis is at present inferior to the French: they have built five sail of the line since we left Toulon.—Feb. 28. I am now on my way to Genoa, having been joined by the Admiral on the 23d, off Toulon. The French have thirteen sail of the line and five frigates ready for sea; and four or five, which are in great forwardness, are fitting in the Arsenal. Sir John Jervis, from his manner, as I plainly perceive, does not wish me to leave this station. He seems at present to consider me more as an associate, than a subordinate officer; for I am acting without any orders. This may have its difficulties at a future day; but I make none, knowing the uprightness of my intentions. He asked me, if I had heard any more of my promotion; I told him, no: his answer was, "*You must have a larger ship, for we cannot spare you, either as Captain or Admiral.*"

In a letter to Mr. Trevor, Nelson mentions his arrival at Genoa, on the 2d of March, and adds, 'I hope to hear of some intended movements of the Austrian army towards Vado. I am certain, from Sir John Jervis' own assertion, that nothing will be wanting on his part towards an effectual cooperation, consistent with the other services which you so well know are required of an English Admiral; and I can take upon me to say, that he will come to Vado Bay, when future plans may be better concerted. I cannot help thinking that the taking of Vado would be a great object, and that it must be done early in the spring; or the enemy's fleet may with ease cover a body of troops in transports, and land them in Italy. I was six days in sight of Toulon; and could each day see a visible getting forward of their ships. I believe we shall have a battle before any convoy sails, and which pray God send; for the event, under so active and good an Admiral, who can doubt of? I am just favoured with your letters of Feb. 6, 13, and 18: if the Admiral had small vessels, he could not venture to unman his fleet.'

Captain Nelson to H. R. H. the Duke of Clarence. Genoa Mole, March 3, 1796.

'Sir: I left Sir John Jervis off Toulon on the 23d of February, and sincerely hope he has not suffered in the very severe gale of easterly wind, which I have experienced: our stern is stove in, and several of our quarter planks started. If the Admiral unfortunately should be crippled, the French fleet would be at sea in a week; and, at all events, I do not believe they will remain longer in port, than till after the equinox. It is said the Campaign will open against Italy with 80,000 men: if the enemy's fleet should be able to cover the landing of 20,000 men, between Port Especia and Leghorn, where I have always been of opinion they would attempt it, I know of nothing to prevent their fully possessing the rich

mine of Italy. I hope the Austrians will again take possession of Vado Bay; which would of course impede not only the alongshore voyage of the French, and afford our fleet an opportunity of falling in with the enemy, and of giving I hope a decisive blow to their fleet; but would also prevent them from getting into the Milanese, by possessing the strong passes of the Bochetta. They have desired of the Genoese the fortress of Savona, as a place for arms; which although the republic has refused, yet of course they will take it when convenient, and without opposition, as a great friend of theirs is governor of it, the Marquis of Spinola. They have also desired the loan of thirty millions of livres, to which this republic has pleaded poverty.

'Genoa is full of corn for the use of the French; but, possessing the whole coast, it is almost impossible to take any of their vessels: I have taken three lately; yet the vessels and cargoes being neutral, I suppose they will not be condemned. None but neutral vessels navigate to France: not a French merchant vessel appears on the sea. Whatever may occur within my knowledge, your Royal Highness may depend on knowing.'

From Genoa Mole the Agamemnon sailed to Leghorn to refit; but previous to this, Captain Nelson, on the 4th, requested further information from Mr. Trevor, respecting the actual state of Sardinia, and added, 'Is the whole island in rebellion, and friendly to the French, and would it be dangerous for an English ship to anchor in Oristan, or any other port in Sardinia? should the vessels belonging to the Sardinians be seized? In short, Sir, pray tell me, in what light the King of Sardinia considers the inhabitants of that island, and how you think I should consider them. I did not, I own, rejoice at the snow, and the very bad weather we have had, until you told me how beneficial it may prove to our good ally the King of Sardinia, whom I shall always respect.'

When writing from Leghorn on the 10th of March, to Sir John Jervis, he sent a general account of his Correspondence with their Excellencies Mr. Trevor, and Mr. Drake; and concluded by saying, 'Mr. Wyndham's letter, from Florence, shews that if the Tuscan government are ready to receive a French garrison, it will be very difficult to prevent it until we possess Vado. The points for us to look to, are a small squadron off Port Especia, with one on the other side of the Gulf; for the present embarkation will be in small vessels; but if the Genoese will not oppose their passage, there is nothing to prevent, in a march of forty-eight hours, the arrival of the French at Leghorn.'

On the 16th of March, when at sea, Captain Nelson also forwarded to Sir John Jervis another part of this diplomatic Correspondence, with the following letter:[k] 'I beg leave, Sir, to transmit copies of all the letters that have passed between me and his Majesty's Ministers at Turin, Genoa, and Naples; that you may be in full possession of my conduct,

[k] Earl St. Vincent's valuable Collection.

and know whether I am worthy the honour of commanding the squadron intrusted to my direction. My last letter to Mr. Drake, dated yesterday, is of so very important a nature, and the opinion I have given so very decisive, that I must request you will send me your ideas of my conduct, as soon as possible: should it unfortunately be disapprobation, I have only to regret, that my abilities are not equal to my zeal.'

The following are extracts from the letters that were sent to the Admiral; the principal of which was one received from Mr. Drake, dated Milan, March 6, 1796. 'My dear Sir: It was with great satisfaction that I learnt from your letters, Feb. 28, and March 2, your safe arrival at Genoa, after so perilous a passage to Toulon.—I have given directions to Mr. Brame, to communicate to you, and Sir John Jervis, or any officer you may depute, whatever intelligence he may receive from Toulon, interesting to our navy. I suppose the alarms respecting the Duchy of Masso Carrera are subsided for the present; but I do not think it by any means an improbable conjecture, that the Toulon armament may be directed against the Gulf of Especia, in order to procure an entry for the French troops into Italy, on that side . . . . I am so deeply involved in business of various sorts, that I cannot at present get away from this place; otherwise I should endeavour to see you at Genoa, that I might confide to you some operations which I have lately proposed to Lord Grenville and his Majesty's Ministers, and in which I have taken the liberty of mentioning you for the principal actor. I expect an answer to my proposals in the course of this month, and if they are agreed to, I shall make a point of seeing you, as well as the Admiral, wherever you may be, either at Leghorn or Genoa. I cannot venture to say more than this, in a letter by the common post.

'I am very happy that Sir John Jervis is disposed to cooperate with us, and that he will not avoid a conference with the Austrian Generals. With respect to the Austrian army in this country, I am glad to assure you, that the losses and misfortunes of the 23d of last November are now completely repaired. Many reinforcements have already joined, and many others are now passing the Tyrolian mountains, on their way hither. In short, I have every reason to hope, that the Emperor will be able to reassume his superiority in this quarter. No Commander in Chief is yet appointed in the room of de Vins; but the famous General Beaulieu is arrived here, and if he does not actually command, he will undoubtedly have a very considerable influence on the military operations. I shall give you some ideas of the plans which it is intended to follow, by a future opportunity. All prospects of peace have completely vanished, and I suppose the armistice on the Rhine will soon give place to hostilities. The French government holds a very high language; but I am credibly informed, that its arrogance is confined to the gazettes, and the sittings of the two councils. The Directory trembles, and feels conscious that its credit, nay even its existence, depends on the issue of the first battle.'

From Mr. Jackson, at Turin, to Captain Nelson, March 8, 1796.

'Mr. Trevor being so much engaged, I do myself the pleasure of thanking you for your letters of the 24th of February, and 4th of this month . . . . . With regard to Sardinia, in reply to your questions, I have only to repeat what I had the honour to state to you last autumn, when you consulted me on the subject: Mr. Trevor saw the Minister yesterday, and was told by him, That although it was certain there were a few Jacobin leaders at the head of the revolt, who wished to facilitate any schem[redacted]he French might be supposed to have, yet, as the mass of the people were still true to their allegiance, and as the government was still professed to be carried on in the name of, and in obedience to their Sovereign, they could not be considered as in a state of rebellion; that his Sardinian Majesty was confident, the French would not be able to get a footing in the island, as long as our fleet had so decided a superiority; and finally, that he did not conceive there existed the smallest probability of any insult being offered to his Majesty's flag.

'The snow, which has fallen in such quantities, has given us three weeks or a month's law; and I begin to hope we may weather the storm with which we are certainly threatened: but so much depends on the cooperation of the Austrians, that nothing can be safely pronounced, until we hear from Vienna. It is certain, that very considerable reinforcements are on their march: but in what manner they will act, or by whom they will be commanded, is yet a mystery. We still hope that General Beaulieu will be the effective man; in which case every thing may be expected.'

Captain Nelson to Sir William Hamilton, K. B. Leghorn, March 11, 1796.

'Sir: Mr. Wyndham having communicated to Mr. Udney, &c. the conversation of the French Minister with the Tuscans, I cannot but think it right for me, being intrusted with a command in the Gulf of Genoa, to beg that your Excellency will apply for such vessels of war, belonging to his Sicilian Majesty, as may be judged proper to cruise in the Gulf of Genoa, and particularly off the point of the Gulf of Especia. Zebecs, corvettes, and frigates, are the fittest to cruise; and the first have the great advantage of rowing, as well as sailing, and, as I am told, very fast. General Acton knows, full as well as myself, what vessels are proper to prevent the disembarkation of troops on this coast; therefore I shall not particularly point them out. During the last campaign, the word Flotilla was misunderstood: I can only say, that all vessels which can row, and sail, must be useful; and, for small craft, Port Especia is a secure harbour. Whatever is to be done, should be done speedily; for by Mr. Wyndham's account, we have no time to lose. If we have the proper vessels, I am confident the French will not be able to bring their 10,000 men by sea. However, should all our precaution fail in preventing them from possessing Leghorn, yet we are not to despair: I am confident, that in fourteen days from their entry, if the Allied Powers unite heartily, we should take them all prisoners; I feel certain

it can be done. With my best respects to Lady Hamilton, believe me your Excellency's most obedient servant.'

On the next day, the 12th of March, 1796, Mr. Drake having returned for a few days unexpectedly to Genoa, requested an immediate interview with Captain Nelson, who had sent the following official communication to his Excellency, dated March 15. 'Having received information, on which I am told I may depend, that Salicetti is now here, with other Commissio[redacted] for the express purpose of expediting the operations of the French army, towards the invasion of Italy; and that one of the three columns, into which that army is to be divided, is either to penetrate through the Genoese territory, or to be conveyed coastways to take possession of Port Especia; which will instantly give them the flat country as far as Leghorn, and no doubt but a small army appearing before Leghorn, would without any difficulty make themselves masters of it; I therefore feel it my duty, as Commanding Officer of his Majesty's squadron employed on this coast, and in the absence of the naval Commander in Chief, to state clearly the fatal consequences which will attend this plan of the French commissioners. The possession of Port Especia will always give an easy access to every part of Italy, even to the kingdom of Naples, and also security to transports, ships of war, and small vessels; and I moreover beg it may be understood, that if the French flotilla proceeds along the coast, our ships of war cannot molest them; not being able to approach the coast, from the shallowness of the water. I must besides observe, that the enemy possessing Leghorn, cuts off all our supplies, and of course our fleet cannot always be looked for on the northern coast of Italy. I therefore beg leave to state, that to obviate these misfortunes, two plans are necessary to be attended to, the first, and best is the possession of Vado Bay, this done, as far as human foresight can discern, Italy is safe; the next is the taking of Port Especia; and, as a sea officer, I beg leave to say, that unless one of these plans is adopted, my Admiral, and Commander in Chief of his Majesty's fleet, cannot answer for the safety of Italy, from any attempts that may be made on it coastways.'

On the 16th of March, having seen Mr. Drake, Nelson sent a second letter to his Admiral, giving him an account of that interview. 'Mr. Drake having expressed a wish to see me, to communicate many things, which he did not think it right to trust to paper, I arrived yesterday morning at Genoa, with Meleager and Blanche, and held a conference with him. The same cause, which prevented him from writing, prevents me from entering fully on the part of the plan intimated in his letter, and which at present is submitted to the consideration of Ministers: but, when I have the honour of meeting you, I am at full liberty to communicate it; for I would receive no information, or plans, which I might not freely communicate to you. Mr. Drake expressed himself pleased at your determination to give the Austrian General a meeting, whenever he chose to bring his army on the coast:

but, at the same time, he said, he found it extremely difficult to make them hear of the Riviera, although he had pressed very much to have the plan of the last year carried into execution; with the exception, in the first instance, of penetrating into Provence. The Commander in Chief of the Army was not yet fixed on; but it was understood, that the Archduke was to be the nominal, and General Beaulieu the active Commander in Chief, that Beaulieu wished to meet the French in the plains of Lombardy, and then to follow up the blow, which he had no doubt would be decisive.

'I could not help observing, That the very reason why the General wished to meet them in a particular place, would of course be the reason why the French would not penetrate by that route; and that respecting the information, which I had received, of the intention of the Directory to order the movement of their army in three columns, one by Ceva, another by the pass of the Bochetta, and another to march through the Genoese territory, or be carried coastways to Port Especia, which would give them an easy entry into the plains of Italy; I had no doubt the two first would be feints, and the last the real plan.—I must here observe, that before night, Mr. Drake had the same information communicated to him; and also, that a body of troops would be embarked on board the fleet, the moment Richery arrived from Cadiz, and a push be made for Port Especia. This information induced me, and if possible more strongly than ever, to press the measure of taking Vado, or Port Especia, without delay; and I added, that without one, or the other, was done, you could not answer for the safety of Italy coastways, it being now perfectly clear, for what the two hundred flat boats were built, and the numerous gun-boats fitted out. Mr. Drake told me, that he had already urged the measure of taking Vado, and would continue to do it, and would also instantly press the necessity of possessing Port Especia, if I would declare, that our naval force should support the Austrians from attacks by sea; which, I said, there could be no doubt of, for it would be the home of our squadron employed on this coast. He then desired me to give my opinion in writing, as the authority of a sea officer would have more weight, than all he could urge; and this was the cause of my writing the letter, on which I am so anxious to obtain your sentiments.

'Salicetti has failed in his demand for the loan of thirty millions of livres. On his first demand, when it was generally understood, that five millions would be given him to get rid of it, Mr. Drake came to Genoa, and with all the Ministers of the coalesced powers, joined in a note to the Serene Republic, stating, 'They had heard of the demand made by the French, yet could not believe that the Republic would so far forget her neutrality, as to comply with it: that if she did, the coalesced powers could no longer recognise her as a neutral state, but as the ally of France.' The demand of Salicetti was taken into consideration on the night of the 12th, and was rejected by 142 against 34.—Information from Toulon was received yesterday by Mr. Drake, that an embargo has been laid on that

port; the gates were shut, and no person was suffered to go out of the town. This is an additional inducement for my looking into that port, which being done, I will dispatch a frigate to you.'

'Off the Hieres Islands, (in continuation) March 18. I wish much to have the honour of seeing you, and the moment I hear of your arrival at St. Fiorenzo, I shall go there. When you did me the honour to offer me the Zealous, you was acquainted with my reasons for not accepting her. In any situation, if you approve of my conduct, I beg leave to assure you, I shall feel pleasure in serving under your command; and in case a promotion of flags should take place, I am confident that your mention of me to Lord Spencer, would be sufficient to have my flag ordered to be hoisted in this country. The Zealous, most probably, is disposed of long before this; if not, and you approve of me for this command, either as Captain or Admiral, I am at your disposal. Mr. Drake, in his conversation, on my telling him that I thought the Agamemnon would go home, and that probably the Zealous was disposed of, said, 'As I last year represented to Admiral Hotham the propriety of ordering you a distinguishing pendant, and also did the same to Lord Grenville, the Admiral will perhaps direct you to hoist it on board l'Aigle, which will make her as good as Agamemnon.'—On these, Sir, and many other points, I shall take the first opportunity of consulting you. The opening of this campaign will be warm, and most important: every thing will be risked on the part of the French to get into Italy. Mr. Grey's motion for peace, on February 15, was lost by 189 to 80.'

Such constant anxiety, and exertion of mind, were almost too much for the constitution of Nelson; for in a letter to Mr. Drake, on the 25th of March, he said, 'I do not know when I have been so ill, as during this cruise, but I hope a good opening to the Campaign will set me quite to rights. Whilst I receive from your Excellency, from Mr. Trevor, and my Admiral, every approbation of my conduct, I should be a wretch not to exert myself.' When writing to Mrs. Nelson on the same date, he sent home to her, and his father, the following very honourable testimony to his exertions, from Sir John Jervis. 'I have received by the Blanche, your two letters, of the 16th and 19th instant, together with the several enclosures, and copies of your correspondence at Turin, Genoa, and Naples; and I feel the greatest satisfaction, in communicating this public testimony of my thorough approbation of your late conduct, and recent correspondence.' In his private letter, Sir John Jervis added, 'No words can express the sense I entertain of every part of your conduct, and I shall be very happy to manifest it in the most substantial manner: a distinguishing pendant you shall certainly wear, and I will write to Lord Spencer about you: in short, there is nothing, within my grasp, that I shall not be proud to confer on you.'—All this, my dear Fanny, is certainly flattering and pleasant; and these blossoms may one day bring forth fruit. I have just read in the papers, that Admiral Christian has a red ribbon;

and it has given me pleasure to see, that merit, although unfortunate, is not always neglected. God bless you, and give us a happy meeting, and soon, is the most sincere wish of your affectionate husband.'

Commodore Nelson to Sir John Jervis, K. B. dated off Genoa, April 7, 1796.

'Lieutenant Pierson of the 69th regiment informs me, that he expects to be ordered on board the Britannia, there being but one subaltern there, and that Major Saunderson is to be embarked on board the Agamemnon, to which it would seem I could have no manner of objection: but I think, from a very particular circumstance, that Mr. Pierson will not be removed from me, and I hope Sir Hyde Parker will agree with me in the propriety of his staying here, abstracted from my regard for him; as he was brought forward in the 69th regiment, under the auspices of Colonel Villettes and myself, having come to us at the siege of Bastia, as a volunteer from the Neapolitan service, and never having served with any one but ourselves. Yet this I should lay no stress upon, were I not so particularly situated. We are likely, I hope, to have a numerous Neapolitan flotilla, which of course will be under my command; this officer was my aid de camp to them last year, as well as to the Austrian Generals: I will only suppose, in an attack on the enemy's flank, that I want to send particular directions; I know of no person so qualified as Lieutenant Pierson, to prevent mistakes and confusion in my orders, both from his acquaintance with the Neapolitan service, and his knowledge of the Italian language.'

On the next day, the 8th of April, 1796, the Commodore sent to Sir John Jervis a most able reply to those complaints of insult, and accusations of a breach of neutrality, which the republic of Genoa continued to forward, owing to French influence, through its minister the Marquis of Spinola, to our court....' As to the political situation of Genoa, the reason, Sir, why foreign armies took possession of certain parts of the republic, does not come within the supposed sphere of my knowledge; therefore I shall proceed to the Accusation against his Majesty's ships, reserving myself to draw a conclusion very different from the Marquis.

'The first complaint is, the distress of the western coast of the republic from want of provisions: to this I answer, That the Genoese government having proposed a plan for the supplying their towns with provisions, the same was arranged with his Majesty's Minister at Genoa, and acceded to by the Austrian General and myself, although those towns were in possession of the French troops; and the Marquis does not even pretend to state, that any vessels furnished with the documents, arranged with his government, were molested or detained on their voyage.

'The next hostile act stated to have been committed, was on August 26, 1795, at Alassio, when the place was threatened with demolition and conflagration, a Genoese vessel burnt, and another seized, together with some of the same flag, under cannon shot

of the castle, having Genoese colours flying: To this I beg leave to reply by facts. The French army occupied the town, to the number of 2000 horse and foot, having cannon mounted on different parts of it: A convoy of warlike stores arriving at this place for the French army, I anchored in the bay of Alassio and Langueglia, and took[1] a French corvette, four other vessels of war, and five or six French vessels, laden with powder, shot, shells, and provisions. It is true, that Genoese colours were flying on a castle in the town; but the French colours were laid over the wall, and the French troops, with their colours flying, were drawn up in the castle, in front of the castle, and in front of the town, and on the beach, and fired from the beach on our boats that were employed in cutting out the vessels; and my forbearance will be considered as great, when I assert, that fifteen musket balls passed through my barge, yet I would not suffer the town to be fired upon. A vessel, whose cable was cut, ran on shore, and was burned, in opposition to all the French troops. I here affirm, on the honour of an Officer, that no Genoese or other neutral vessel was kept possession of; and indeed it is acknowledged by my conduct to the Adriot vessels, that Neutrals had only to declare their neutrality, to claim respect from me. As to the threats of demolition and conflagration to the town, I have to say, that I neither received nor sent any message, nor had any communication whatever with the town; therefore this must be wilful misrepresentation.

'To the circumstance of August 27th, 1795, where it is stated, That the English pursued another vessel, and chased her into a little bay, and cannonaded her upon the territory of the republic; I must here observe, that although the Genoese may claim, and have undoubted right to, the possession of their territory, yet the French having taken possession of every foot of ground from Ventimiglia to Voltri, erected batteries at whatever places they thought proper, ordered requisitions of provisions, mules, and drivers; and fired on the ships of their enemies, although they may be friends of the Genoese; are not these acts, which the Marquis must acknowledge to be every day committed, proof sufficient, that the French, and not the Genoese, are masters of the country? Nor can the French allowing Genoese flags to be hoisted on some of the fortifications, alter the case: the vessel alluded to, was a French gun-boat, which had fired on his Majesty's ship, and received the chastisement she so highly merited; but this happened on a beach, where not a house belonging to the Genoese could be injured.

'The next accusation is, That on the 6th of September, an English ship of the line, &c. having captured a brig off St. Remo, put an English crew on board, and sent her in, threatening to burn seven Adriot and Genoese vessels, and another, which was a Frenchman, in the very port of St. Remo. I have only to say, that not having captured a brig off the port of St. Remo, I could not send in any message by her. I also declare, that I

[1] See preceding page 227.

never sent any message into St. Remo. Had I acted as they say, my line of conduct must have taken a sudden change; for only on the 26th of August, eleven days before, the respect which I paid Adriot vessels, then in my power, is acknowledged. It is true, I chased ten sail into St. Remo, but there it ended.

'On the 9th of September it is stated, That an English ship of the line, &c. anchored on the coast off della Riva, and took two Genoese tartans, and that, when a signal was made from the shore, no other answer was returned, than shewing their guns; moreover, on the same day, the boats of the said ship seized another vessel at anchor off St. Stephano.—It is true, Sir, I anchored on the coast, as stated; but as to my taking two vessels, it is an untruth. Our boats examined two tartans, and finding them actually Genoese, left them: a French boat was taken on the coast of St. Stephano, the crew having fired on our boats. As to the signals made from the shore, or the Agamemnon shewing her guns, the first I could not understand, and respecting the last, I never heard of a man of war's guns being hid.

'As the Marquis of Spinola appears to have been well furnished with accounts of our proceedings, I wonder he did not relate a fact, which it is natural to suppose came to his knowledge, as a representation of it was made by Mr. Drake to the Genoese government, viz. That the boats of the Agamemnon, with English colours flying, going to examine three vessels, on their coming alongside the vessels, were fired upon, and seventeen of his Majesty's subjects killed and wounded. A similar circumstance, acknowledged by the Marquis on the 13th, is a proof of the barbarity of these Adriot vessels, when they had the superiority. It is said, that two English long-boats would have captured two Adriot vessels proceeding for Genoa, had they not been prevented by the fire of the Ottomans. That the English ships will, if possible, examine every vessel they meet with, is certain, and in this they do their duty. The pieces of iron fired on shore, most probably came from the Ottomans; as it is well known, that English ships of war are furnished with no such ammunition as langrage. How can the Marquis think, that we can know what vessels are, or their lading, and to what place they are bound, without examination? I shall only say, that no vessel belonging to any nation whatever was taken or detained, except for the act of examining her papers, during the time of my command, which includes the whole period stated by the Marquis, that was laden with provisions for the city of Genoa. It is next stated, That two frigates continually remained at anchor, in sight of the mouth of the port of Genoa. I shall only assert, that this is a most notorious misrepresentation and falsehood; and I do further declare, that if at any time a frigate anchored in Genoa road, her boats never boarded any vessel whilst in that situation.

'Having thus, Sir, answered every part of the accusation made by the Genoese Minister, I beg leave to say a few words on his conclusion, which is certainly a most extraordinary

one. To pretend to assert, that although our enemies take possession of, and continue in the republic of Genoa, we are not, by every means in our power, to attack them both at sea and on shore, will bear reasoning upon, but I can with truth declare, that in the act of distressing our enemies in the republic of Genoa, the greatest forbearance, and even acts of kindness, have been constantly shewn to individual Genoese.

'The republic of Genoa has now had six months unmolested fraternization with the French army; and I am assured, that the inhabitants of the republic had rather again encounter our fancied breaches of neutrality, and violation of territory, than the fraternal embraces of the French troops, which have been given to their women, their churches, and olive trees.'

Commodore Nelson to his Excellency Mr. Drake, dated Genoa, April 6, 1796.

'I was favoured, my dear Sir, on the first of this month, with your letter of March 29th, and on Saturday I went to Fiorenzo to talk with Sir John Jervis. We may rely on every support and effectual assistance from him; we have only to propose, and if possible it will be done. I hope the gallies, and gun-boats, will be sent in abundance, and I have a plan for forcing them to be useful; which is, to buy two tartans, fit them as heavy gun-boats, and occasionally man them from the shipping of my squadron; this will enable me to go myself, or send a Captain to command the whole, in which case I shall be sure that the service will be performed: When the time approaches we must talk more on this subject. The transport ships Sir John Jervis will find; but troops from Corsica we must not expect. You may, Sir, assure General Beaulieu, that on whatever part of the coast he comes, I shall never quit him. If he is able, and willing, and expeditious, I am sure we shall do much; but whenever that time comes, I shall hope to see you. The Admiral has directed me to wear a broad Pendant, and this was done in the handsomest manner; he will come off Vado. P. S. The Diadem has just joined, and we only wish for an opportunity of acting. Yesterday I received a letter from Naples, in answer to my request of March the 11th, and I have the pleasure to say, that the galleys and gun-boats are fitting.'

The Agamemnon's broad Pendant had not been long flying off Genoa, before the circumstance of the Commodore's arrival, rendered the diplomatic corps extremely anxious to enjoy the advantage of that decision, and intuitive conception of the proceedings of the enemy, which marked the character of Nelson. A message was accordingly dispatched to request his immediate attendance, and in his letter to the Admiral, April 9, 1796, he seems to chide himself for this unavoidable delay. 'On my arrival off here, yesterday morning, I was so strongly pressed by the Sardinian and Imperial Ministers to come into the port, in order that they might have some conversation with me, that, although rather against my inclination of anchoring, I could not refuse; and I am just going on

shore to meet them. There has been some little skirmishing between the advanced piquets of the two armies in the vicinity of Voltri; but it is generally thought the French will retire to Savona, Vado, &c. Ceva and Ormea are to be the two places attacked by them; but I hope General Beaulieu on his passing the heights of Vado, may find an opportunity of taking them, and give us the anchorage of Vado Bay. We are on the best terms with the Genoese; and as far as a private communication to the Secretary of State, through Mr. Brame, they are certain of our good disposition towards them, and of our sincere wishes to see the Republic really enjoying her neutrality: At the same time, I desired Mr. Brame to signify, that vessels, to whatever nation they belonged, bound to France with provisions or stores, would be seized; that I wished this to be understood, and that the seizures of vessels belonging to Genoese subjects, in the situation alluded to, ought not to be considered as hostile to the Genoese flag; for all other nations were precisely in the same situation. To this the Secretary replied, in his private character, That if merchants would run the risk, it rested with them, and that he did not think the government had any concern in it; that he should acquaint the Doge of the conversation, and was very happy to see me here with a broad pendant, which was saluted. The Secretary was full of praises of the late Austrian army; not a sixpence of debt had been left behind, nor an individual injured by their stay in the Riviera; contrasting it with the conduct of the French. Salicetti is gone from Genoa.

'I am just returned on board; and enclosed send you a copy of my note, which is gone off by express to General Beaulieu. The Ministers of the Emperor, and King of Sardinia, were pleased with it; and I hope it will meet with your approbation also. I have found from experience, that we cannot be too clear with these gentlemen; and I am determined to leave no room for them to say, "We thought you could do this thing, or the other." These Ministers tell me, that a general attack may be expected, on the same day, from Voltri to Finale. Your appearance off the coast would most certainly have a good effect. The line of Austrians and Piedmontese is full 40,000, the French, I am assured, not more: they yesterday got cannon on the strong post of St. Giacomo, and will defend Vado, but I hear they tremble.'

Commodore Nelson's Note to General Beaulieu.

'Does General Beaulieu wish the English squadron should cruise off any particular point of the Coast, whence it may be satisfactory for the General to see it from the mountains, and of course be discouraging to the French?—It would be attended with this risk, that calms, or contrary winds, might put the squadron at a distance, at the time General Beaulieu may arrive on the coast: Would the General, therefore, rather have us remain at Genoa, with a moral certainty of joining him in ten, or twelve hours, after the news of his arrival on the coast is sent to me?

'Next consideration: If General Beaulieu sends me notice, at what particular time and place it is probable he may attack the French, in that case it is almost certain I could be very near at hand, and act as opportunity might offer: for instance—Suppose the attack is on the heights over Savona; the squadron, if the weather be moderate, could anchor about five or six miles from Savona, instead of waiting at Genoa. These considerations are submitted to General Beaulieu, who has only to express his wishes to have them, as far as is possible, complied with.'—Notwithstanding these wise precautions, on the part of the Commodore, the Austrian attack on the enemy did not answer, as he could have wished: for in writing to Mr. Drake, April 11, 1796, he said, 'It has been well, but might have been better; for if I had been fully acquainted with the movements of the army, I am sure not many of the French would have returned to Savona: our ships command every foot of the road. I beg you will endeavour to impress on those about the General, the necessity of punctuality, in a joint operation, for its success to be complete. I received yesterday afternoon at five o'clock, a note from the Baron de Malcamp, to tell me, that the General had resolved to attack the French at daylight this morning, and on the right of Voltri: yet by the Austrians getting too forward in the afternoon, a slight action took place, and during the night the French retreated. My movements I kept secret; and, after the shutting of the gate, weighed the squadron from Genoa, and at half past nine, I anchored within half gun shot of the Austrian army, sending Diadem and Blanche to anchor between Voltri and Savona: but the French were aware of their perilous situation, and passed our ships in the night. I do not mean this as any complaint, but to shew the necessity of punctuality; for had the Austrians kept back, very few of the French could have escaped. I have a ship off Voltri; the rest of my little squadron are off Vado. As the difficulty will now be increased for the French to get supplies, the Genoese will of course employ deception, and clear all vessels as for their own people in the Riviera, although possibly for the use of the French army: how, Sir, shall we manage? will you turn this in your mind?'

On the 13th of April, Nelson sent the following account of a conversation with the Baron de Malcamp, who is mentioned in the preceding letter to Sir John Jervis. 'Sir: As it is impossible to be too particular in all my communications with the Austrian General, I think it right to note down the conversation which I held last evening, in the presence of Mr. Brame, with the Baron de Malcamp, nephew and aid de camp to General Beaulieu, whom the General had desired to communicate with me.

'The Baron began by returning thanks from his General, for our well timed cooperation, and for the assurances I had given of every support and assistance; that the General wished to know, what was the particular object of my squadron, and in what manner his operations could be serviceable to me. To this I replied, that the cooperation was my

duty, and which I had the greatest pleasure in performing; and I begged he would assure the General, that my squadron had no object whatever in view, but the cooperation with his army. Whenever he came down on the sea coast, there he would be sure to find me.

'The Baron then asked, If I could anchor in any other place than Vado Bay?—I replied, That for these five months to come, for nineteen days out of twenty, whenever the General was on the coast, there I should always be, at either Finale, Albengua, Alassio, Oneglia, St. Remo, and the whole coast to Nice; and I would anchor the squadron opposite his army: that Vado was the only place where our fleet could lie in safety; but as for my squadron, all places would suit it: I therefore begged it might be perfectly and clearly understood, That if the General thought it better to cut down to the sea coast, to the westward of Vado, he would do so, for Vado was not necessary for my squadron; that I had understood St. Giacomo was strongly fortified; and if six or seven thousand men were to be lost in getting it, merely for the immediate possession of Vado Bay, it was no object to us, if the General chose to leave them to the eastward: this point I pressed on the Baron three different times, and he said he perfectly understood me; that he should go to the General, as this day, the 13th, and the General would send me a *tableau* of his plan of operations. The General also desired him to assure me, on his part, that the most perfect harmony would be kept up with me; and that from my character, as well as from my exactness on the 11th, he was assured all would go well for the common cause: and this would have the happiest effect, as our enemies would be convinced of the most perfect harmony subsisting between the allies.

'I assured the Baron, he might depend on my openness of conduct, and that what I had promised, should, if possible, be performed, nor had I promised any thing, but what I had a moral certainty of being able to perform; and I desired he would assure his General, I was authorised by Sir John Jervis, to promise the most sincere and cordial cooperation, for that nothing should be omitted on his part, to convince the General, and our allies, as well as our enemies, and the neutral powers, how much the Admiral had the good of the common cause at heart; and further, That as soon as Sir John Jervis knew of the General's being on the coast, he would come there. I also desired the Baron to acquaint the General, that I would undertake to furnish proper convoys, for their provisions being carried coastways from Genoa, Voltri, &c. Upon which he asked me, two or three times, if there were not a risk that my squadron might be lost on the coast: to this I constantly replied, *That should these ships be lost, my Admiral would find others, and we should risk the squadron at all times to assist the General:* and I requested he would give me credit for my sincere disposition, to contribute all my power, towards the success of the common cause.'

In continuation, April 15, 1796. 'Sir: I anchored here, in Genoa Road, this morning, and shall immediately proceed to the information, which I have received from the Imperial and Sardinian Ministers, both of whom I immediately waited upon. General Beaulieu's

letter to the Minister, was dated Acqui, the 14th, in which he says, '*Yesterday Generals Argenteau and Lichtein attacked a post of the enemy at Montenotte:*[1] *they did not succeed, and returned to their first position.*' I beg, Sir, you will not believe the reports of the ill disposed at Genoa, though I cannot say I like this account; but you will form the same conjectures as myself: no loss is mentioned, and the word *first* conveys to my mind a great deal. Argenteau has ever failed; they fell, report says, into an ambuscade. The Minister at Turin writes thus to Mr. Nomis, the Sardinian Minister here: " The snow still lies so much on the mountains near Ceva, that neither party can take possession of those posts they wish. The enemy made an attack on one of our posts, but were repulsed with some loss."—Mr. Nomis expects an express from Alessandria, with an account of the attack at Montenotte; and I shall know the contents as soon as they arrive. Salicetti sent from Savona, two days past, for thirty thousand pair of shoes: the Consul sent off this intelligence to Captain Towry, who had his boats out all night, but without success: eight thousand pair are gone to Savona.

' I send you Mr. Trevor's original letters. Anxious as I am to do every thing, we cannot equip vessels quite so fast as his Excellency wishes. The Sardinian sailors manning two or three, would be of great use. England I know must pay for them, and probably victual them. This measure must have a little further thought: heavy gun-boats will not do as cruisers, and on the contrary we must have a place to keep them in, but I shall see you very soon, when I shall enlarge upon this subject; and, I am afraid, time enough will remain to equip our vessels, if not, so much the better. The firing I saw last night on the hills, between Voltri and Savona, was, I hope, an advance of the General.—Seven o'clock, P. M. We have no particulars, but it is said the French have been beat from some of the hills above Savona, and many wounded have been carried thither.'

The age of the Austrian General, Field Marshal Beaulieu, who was upwards of 70, though, as Nelson observes in one of his letters, he still possessed the fire of youth, which for a short time changed the character of the campaign, must have rendered him a very unequal match to the enterprising spirit of Buonaparte, who had scarcely attained his 26th year. His rapacious love of plunder, and desperate fortunes, made him prodigal of human blood, and regardless of the means by which he promoted his own views, and the wishes of his republic. Like Catiline,[m] ' he possessed a tongue that could explain, and a hand that could execute.' The consequence was another defeat of the Austrians, whose slow measures were ill adapted to withstand the impetuosity of half starved soldiers, led on by such a General. The following letters from Commodore Nelson to Mr. Drake, and H. R. H. the Duke of Clarence, were written subsequent to the surrender of the gallant Count de Provera, and to the noble conduct of General Beaulieu at the village of Dego. The letter to Mr. Drake is dated

[1] Commanded by the General of Brigade, Rampon.

[m] Erat ei consilium ad facinus aptum: consilio autem neque lingua, neque manus deerat. (Cicero in Cat. 3. 7.)

April 22, after noticing the disastrous events that had taken place, the Commodore adds, 'The Admiral and myself are very anxious to hear the extent of the misfortune from you, and Mr. Trevor: We have nothing but French accounts, which we hope are exaggerated; from the Imperial Minister I know nothing. I am now on my way to Genoa, expecting to receive letters by to-morrow's post. I cannot learn even the number of the Austrian army, nor of their loss: Had not the General troops enough? if not, it is lamentable indeed. Sir John Jervis only waits until he can hear something, to form an opinion: We are in total ignorance. The French have reinforced their seamen at Toulon, to which place Sir John Jervis will proceed: he was in hopes the presence of the fleet might have been of service; but if that has not been the case, he is better away; for then no blame can be attached to him. You will recollect that Admiral Goodall, from judgment, and myself from experience, have uniformly held out, That it was not in the power of our large ships to stop this coasting business: we must have a point of land to act from; give us that, and if supplies then get to the enemy, except in row-boats, we are answerable. I was placed in the Gulf, to meet the General on the sea-coast, and my squadron would have been risked to have supported him; but as he has not been able to get to the coast, do not let us be blamed. You will recollect, that if Vado could not be gained, we both agreed the other place ought; for if the French fleet get in there by any accident, or the troops possess themselves of it, I look upon Italy as lost. Pray write me particulars as to numbers, losses, and what is likely to be done. Do the Austrians mean to stop? I have great hopes yet from General Beaulieu; will their Neapolitan troops be of no service; has the General written about landing them at any particular place? they might perhaps be landed near St. Remo, where at this season we could always embark them, if a superior force came: this would cut off all supplies by land, as well as by sea; and if they drew many men inland to attack them, then Beaulieu might be able to get on. This is very much your plan, which might be executed if we had the proper troops, and a good General to command them. I am sure you will say and do every thing which is proper. I am anxious in the extreme to hear from you. I wish we had all the French at sea, there as yet we have never failed.'

Commodore Nelson to H. R. H. the Duke of Clarence, dated Agamemnon, off Genoa, April, 1796.

'Sir: I wish it had been in my power to send your Royal Highness a good account of the opening of the campaign; but as the news, good or bad, must be known, I think it is proper for me to give you an exact relation of what has passed.

'I shall first call to your recollection a letter of mine, during the winter, wherein I told you, that I was informed from the French themselves, they would open the Campaign with 80,000 men; and, by the first of May, would lay siege to Turin, or Milan. I shall now

give your Royal Highness a brief account of this Campaign, as far as report goes; for we have no official information from the General.

'On Monday, April 11, the Austrians took possession of Voltri,* with 10,000 men; nearly 300 of the enemy were killed, wounded, or made prisoners. About 4000 men effected their retreat, from the attack having commenced twelve hours before the time fixed by General Beaulieu, and previous to the General's arrival; or I am satisfied not a Frenchman could have escaped; and, by what has followed, the disasters commenced from the retreat of those troops. Our ships so entirely commanded the road, that had the General's concerted time and plan been attended to, I again assert, none of the enemy could have escaped. These troops retired during the day, and night of the 11th, to Montenotte, about eight or nine miles on the back of Savona, where the enemy had about 2000 men posted. At daybreak General Argenteau attacked this post with about 4000 men, not knowing of the reinforcement. He was repulsed, and pursued with great loss; 900 Piedmontese troops, 500 Austrians, field pieces, &c. fell into the enemy's hands. The killed we know not, but it was hard fought. On the 13th and 14th, the French forced the gorges of Millesimo, and the village of Dego, which were well defended, but they were carried by superior numbers. On the morning of the 15th, the Austrian troops, under Colonel Waskanovick, posted at Sassello on the right flank, and rather in the rear of the enemy, or as we should say on the starboard quarter, attacked the enemy at Speigno, and totally routed them; and not only retook the 20 pieces of cannon which the Austrians had lost, but also all belonging to the enemy: When unfortunately the Colonel pursuing his advantage too far, fell in with the main body of the French, who after an obstinate resistance of four hours, totally defeated him. To add to this misfortune, General Beaulieu had sent five battalions from Acqui to support this brave Colonel Waskanovick; but alas, they arrived too late, and added to the triumph of the enemy.

'By the best accounts I can learn, the Austrians have not lost less than 10,000 men killed, wounded, and prisoners. The French loss has also been great, but they can better spare the men than the Austrians. General Beaulieu has now withdrawn all his troops from the mountains, and is encamped at a place called Boseo, on a plain between Novi and Alessandria. I am yet in hopes, if the French attack him on the plain, he may still get on by giving them a total defeat. The Austrians seem to have been ruined by loss of posts; but I dare say it was necessary to possess them; and they were lost owing to the superior numbers of the enemy. A column of 20,000 French is on the side of Ceva, one of the passes into the plain of Piedmont; if they carry this post, the road to Turin is open.

'*Genoa, two o'clock.* The mails are just arrived from Milan, and I rejoice that affairs are not so bad as was reported. General Argenteau is arrested, and sent prisoner to Pavia,

* Where General Cervoni commanded.

on strong suspicion of treason. Reports say, the French are repulsed at Ceva with great loss; but the Turin post is not yet arrived. Believe me ever your Royal Highness's most faithful servant.'

Such was the rapid progress of the French in Italy, under the command of Buonaparte. What could not be obtained by valour and discipline, was secured by a series of organised treachery, falsehood, and corruption, which is almost without a parallel in the history of mankind. The following is the conclusion of one of those declamatory orations, which it was the custom of this French General to deliver to his soldiers, after any signal success. ' Nations of Italy! Our Army approaches on purpose to burst your fetters. France is the friend of every people. Approach our standards with confidence. Your Religion, your Property, and your Customs, shall all be respected. We will carry on War like generous enemies; for we have no dispute but with the Tyrants, who keep you in servitude.'

Commodore Nelson to Admiral Sir J. Jervis, K. B. dated Genoa Mole, April 18, 1796.

' Sir: Captain Cockburn will convey to you all the news, certainly none of it is pleasing; and I own I regret more the good fortune of the enemy, in getting their convoy into Vado, than all which has happened on shore. By the time I sail, I will make myself master of the exact force of the enemy that has escaped us; report says, two frigates and sixteen transports. They may be alarmed for a night or two, and it may go off: if you therefore think, Sir, that the attempt to take the frigates and transports is proper by boats, I beg leave to offer myself for that distinguished command. The barges and pinnaces will be more than thirty. I think it may be done; at least, if you approve of the measure, nothing shall be wanting on my part for its complete success. My idea is, for ten barges to attack each frigate, one boat to be especially appointed with a most confidential officer, to cut the cable of each frigate, if the wind is off the land, in ten minutes they must drive out of soundings, and ten boats would be left for the attack of the transports. I should wish you, Sir, to consider the matter, and I am then certain what is proper will be done. To morrow evening, at dark, I shall sail from hence, and will be with you on Wednesday morning. I grieve when the French have any good fortune by sea.'—The convoy here alluded to by Commodore Nelson, got into Vado Bay whilst Sir John Jervis was off that place with his whole fleet. In consequence of the above letter, the Admiral sent Captain Cockburn to reconnoitre the position of these French frigates; but when the Meleager looked into Vado, it appeared that the enemy had escaped under cover of the preceding night.

The supply which the French had thus gained, weighed extremely on the zealous mind of Nelson; and this had been increased by the arrival of fresh supplies, which he had witnessed whilst on board Sir J. Jervis's ship, and described, on his return, in a letter to Mr. Drake, dated Genoa Road, April 19th. ' To increase my measure of sorrow, a number of vessels, under convoy of gun-boats, got into Savona Mole and Vado Bay on Sunday evening. I was

on board the Victory, and saw them myself—pollacres, brigs, and galleys. The Imperial Minister, and Mr. Nomis, I believe, fancy, that because our fleet saw them, it was very possible for us to stop their course: they know but little of what a fleet can do, and therefore they are in some measure excusable. These vessels came down very close to the shore, and from to windward, the wind at W.N.W. It is perhaps necessary to repel the arguments of these gentlemen: To suppose that our large ships can approach the coast, so as to stop their supplies, is ridiculous: you, Sir, know the impossibility of it, I shall not, therefore, enlarge on that head. Our fleet is sent here to oppose the French at sea; and, at the present time, should the Admiral, in order to stop a tartan or two, or a hundred, lose two or three sail of the line, or get them dismounted by a gun half a mile inland; the enemy would then be as much masters of the seas, as it appears they now are of the land, and Italy would be lost without a blow. This argument I am sure you will make much better use of than I can; but they are always ready to blame England.'

In a letter of the same date to Mr. Trevor, after mentioning his sorrow and astonishment at what had come to pass, and the impossibility of the enemy's convoy being stopped by line of battle ships, he added, 'Therefore, Sir, the getting in with them was impossible, before they would have anchored under such batteries, as must have crippled our fleet; and had such an event happened, in the present state of the enemy's navy, Tuscany, Naples, Rome, Sicily, &c. would have fallen as fast as their ships would have sailed along the coast: our fleet is the only protector at present of those countries. Sir John Jervis has cruised close up to the shore in this Gulf, where I will venture to say no fleet ever cruised before, with the hope of drawing some of the French troops from the inland countries; and I believe it has had its effect, or the Austrians would have been worse off than at present.'

The support which Commodore Nelson so invariably received from his Admiral, and the scope which thus was given for a display of his great abilities, is highly honourable to the character of Sir John Jervis. It is but seldom that humble individuals are thus allowed a preference, amidst the juggle of political interests, and the claims of political connexions. Happy is the country, and honourable is the service, in which such a wise and noble conduct can long be persevered in. The following letter to Mrs. Nelson describes the effect which such conduct had on the feelings of her husband, dated Gulf of Venice, April 24, 1796. 'You will be informed, from my late letters, that Sir J. Jervis has such an opinion of my conduct, that he is using every influence, both public and private, with Lord Spencer, for my continuance on this station; and I am certain you must feel the superior pleasure of knowing, that my integrity and plainness of conduct are the cause of my being kept from you, to the receiving me as a person, whom no Commander in Chief would wish to keep under his flag. Sir John was a perfect stranger to me, therefore I feel the more

flattered; and when I reflect that I have had the unbounded confidence of three Commanders in Chief, I cannot but feel a conscious pride, and that I possess abilities. Rest assured, my dearest Fanny, of my unabated and steady affection, which, if possible, is increasing by that propriety of conduct which you pursue. Whilst the war lasts, I must serve somewhere, and for health, and nearness to England, I know of none equal to this. In case Admiral Linzee returns, Sir John Jervis informed me, that I am to hoist a broad pendant, with a Captain under me, and to command a division of the fleet, though he can ill spare us from our present important service.'

Commodore Nelson to Admiral Sir John Jervis, dated off Loano, April 25, 1796.

'This morning having received information, that a convoy laden with stores for the French army had anchored at Loano, I lost no time in proceeding off that place with the ships named in the margin.[n] On my approach, I was sorry to observe that instead of a convoy, only four vessels were lying under the batteries; which opened on our nearing them, and the fire was returned as our ships got up, under cover of which our boats boarded the four vessels, and brought them off: but these vessels lying very near the shore, a heavy fire of musquetry was kept up on our boats, and it is with the greatest grief I have to mention, that Lieutenant James Noble of the Agamemnon, a most worthy and gallant officer, is, I fear, mortally wounded. From our ships keeping under the fire of their batteries, we sustained no loss; the Agamemnon was, I believe, the only ship struck by shot. The principal part of this service fell on our boats, whose conduct and gallantry could not on any occasion have been exceeded, and I wish fully to express the sense I entertain of the gallantry of every officer and man[o] employed on this occasion. Herewith I transmit a list of wounded, and of the vessels taken; none of which had any colours hoisted, nor was a man on board when they were captured.'

Captain Cockburn was on the same day dispatched with the four prizes to Leghorn, with orders to rejoin the Commodore as soon as possible. Sir John Jervis transmitted this official communication to the Admiralty on the 11th of May, and expressed the satisfaction which he felt, in having an Officer of such zeal, and local knowledge, in the important station which the Commodore occupied.

Amidst the general wreck of the Continent of Italy, which was now daily increased, the unhappy situation of the good King of Sardinia particularly merits attention. Sur-

[n] Meleager, Diadem, Peterell.

[o] *Officers employed in the boats.* Lieutenants of the *Agamemnon,* Suckling, Noble, Compton. Lieutenant Culverhouse, *Meleager.* Lieutenant Ryder, *Diadem.*——*Wounded,* Lieutenant James Noble, and two seamen of the *Meleager.*

Vessels taken. One Ship laden with corn and rice, eight guns, four of which were brass: twenty brass patteraroes. One Ketch laden with muskets and powder. One Galley laden with wine. Another Galley laden with corn.

rounded by treachery, and insulted by an enemy who framed mischief as it were by a law, this aged Sovereign was at times even disposed to doubt the sincerity of his real friends; and whilst he possessed proofs, as he assured one of our foreign Ministers, that a British Admiral had formerly been withdrawn from his duty by a bribe, his Majesty did not so implicitly rely, as he ought to have done, on the honour of the English character. Commodore Nelson in writing to Sir John Jervis on the 26th of April, and first of May, 1796, noticed that consequent want of firmness which the Court of Turin displayed.

'Captain Towry, Sir, rejoined me yesterday morning, with letters from Mr. Drake and Mr. Trevor, which I beg leave to transmit to you. Captain Towry brought me the unpleasant news, which I also enclose; and he tells me, that Mr. Brame has no doubt but the King of Sardinia is endeavouring to negotiate a peace with the French. We had several boats on board yesterday from Cape Noli, the people of which informed us, that although the French had taken Ceva, and killed, wounded, or made prisoners, 5 or 6000 Piedmontese, yet that the French had lost not less than 11,000 men. The fort of Ceva is not yet taken, but the town was plundered, and the enemy passed on to Mondovi, leaving a strong post of Piedmontese in their rear; they also plundered Mondovi, and every house between it and Ceva. If the King of Sardinia does not make peace, I should hope that such conduct of the French would rouse the whole Nation to arms. As to my going to Naples, I need only say, that the Neapolitans, especially Mr. Fortiguerri, would not like the interference of a foreigner: he is at the head of their marine, and fancies himself equal to any officer in Europe. I am so anxious to examine the ports along the coast, to see if the convoy is in any of them, that I hope you will excuse my sending a vessel to you immediately: at whatever place I find their ships, I am determined not to let the first favourable moment for attacking them escape. I wish sincerely for the Neapolitan vessels; I would clear the coast in a week of fine weather, if they would act, and I flatter myself I should manage them to their liking.

'April 28. There are no vessels of consequence in any bay from Monaco to Vado; but not less than a hundred Genoese are every day passing, which may or may not have stores for the French.'

To the same, dated Genoa Mole, May 1, 1796.

'I am still, Sir, of opinion that my presence at Naples can be of no use, but should you think otherwise, I am perfectly ready to proceed there, and do my best. When these troops arrive at Leghorn, I will attend to their debarkation at la Venza, or Port Especia, as may be most proper. I have written to Mr. Drake to have his ideas, whether, if more convenient from weather and other causes, we should force a landing at Port Especia? I told him it was a question you would naturally ask, and I therefore desired his answer. This I am assured is the last gale, and therefore I shall be very glad to get the

Neapolitan vessels over to this coast. You will observe the report of the Commissioners, as they call themselves, at Toulon; I have long had reason to suspect great part is fabricated at Genoa. My channel of information says, This day, if the wind is fair, two small frigates, two cutters, and thirty-three sail of transports, will sail from Marseilles, laden with ammunition, provisions, and clothing. I feel distressed beyond measure at being kept here, and at present there is no sign of a change of wind. If you are of opinion that the report of these Commissioners is true, you may probably think it proper to reinforce me with a ship of the line; for they may slip past you in a strong westerly wind: but I cannot bring myself to believe, that the French will trust six sail of the line to the eastward, even for the certainty of destroying my squadron; and yet they do at times act so contrary to all reasonable ideas, that we must not judge of them as of other people.

'I have thus, Sir, got to the end of our naval business, and shall therefore now take up the account of the proceedings of General Beaulieu, and the Sardinians, where Mr. Drake leaves off. The treaty is finished, and an armistice is agreed on, until the return of the courier from Paris. I never had much faith in the Sardinian Minister, after their extraordinary request to me last year, and I much fear they have not done their utmost to defend Piedmont, and the French seem to have understood them. Neither Ceva, nor the strong posts, were then taken, as I sent you word in a former letter, nor are they to this day. Twenty thousand French pushed forward to within six miles of Turin: General Beaulieu advancing with celerity from Acqui, was on one side of the plain, and next day would have attacked the French army. The French had already begun to retreat, when an express reached him, that an armistice, and most probably a peace, had taken place between the Sardinians and French. Mr. Trevor, with the Imperial, Neapolitan, and Russian Ministers, waited on the King, to desire that Alessandria and Tortona might be delivered up to the Germans, which was peremptorily refused: upon this the Ministers quitted the kingdom, without taking leave, and it is very probable we have now an additional enemy. General Beaulieu is retreating, I am told, towards the Milanese; but how far he has fallen back, I do not hear. The French near Acqui are very ill supplied, and the convoy expected is of the greatest importance to their future operations; I am told if it does not reach them, they must come again to the sea coast. I learn with pleasure that we knocked to pieces the largest of the batteries at Loano, and killed 25 French in it. The place is also very much damaged, which I regret; but these things must happen where batteries are situated in a town. I have authorised Mr. Brame to declare, should any conversation with the Secretary of State here turn that way, that I will never fire the first shot; and, therefore, if the inhabitants of the Genoese towns prevent the French from firing, which they can do if they please, their towns are safe; if they do not, the act rests with them. P. S. I have great pleasure in saying my poor Lieutenant, Noble, is still

alive, and we have some hopes.—May 2. General Beaulieu's army has taken post at Valenza, and between that place and Alessandria. The King of Sardinia, if the Convention ratifies the treaty, is to give up Cuneo and Alessandria, some say Suza; the latter place, I believe, as security for his punctual adherence to the treaty. I have written to Mr. Drake what I have desired Mr. Brame to say.'

This official communication respecting the line of conduct which the Commodore wished Mr. Brame to adopt, marks the decision and foresight of a humane and resolute mind: it was received by Sir John Jervis on the 18th of May, and was as follows: 'The papers from the Secretary of State I am astonished at; but before I answer a word, I wish to receive, and officially, if it be proper for you to communicate in that way with the Genoese government, which I think you told me it was not, a plain answer, Yes, or No. Are all the batteries on the coast manned by, and belonging to the Genoese? Should the reply be Yes, then I have a most heavy complaint to make, and I doubt not but England is fully equal to repel the insult which every day is offered to her flag. Should the reply be No, they are in possession of the French, then of course I shall consider it as an enemy's coast. It may, however, be said, and truly, 'The French have built batteries along the coast, within shot of each other: but the Genoese have some fortresses which still remain in their possession, and yet we know that these batteries fire on the approach of any English ship, nor have we the means or power of preventing it. If an English ship comes into any of the Genoese ports or roads to the westward, we are certain she will be fired at and destroyed, unless she is able to batter down the fortifications: it must therefore be acknowledged, that the Genoese ports to the westward are not neutral for the English.' As this should be the language of the Secretary of State here, can he for a moment fancy, that I will receive shot and shells from every part of the coast, and not consider it as a hostile one? This indeed he may be assured of, that I never have, nor ever will fire the first shot; but if shot are fired, I will do my utmost to destroy the batteries firing at the English flag, although in doing this, I shall guard as much as possible against injuring any individual Genoese, a nation which I respect on many accounts. The Secretary however must be sensible, that the fire of cannon, once opened, is terrible to a town.'

The spirit with which Sir John Jervis treated these continual insults of the Italians, appears from the following letter, sent by that Admiral to the Hon. W. F. Wyndham, dated Victory, off Toulon, 5th of May, 1796. 'Sir: I very much admire the manner, in which your Excellency has treated the subject of the outrage committed upon his Majesty's colours, within the limits of the port of Leghorn, and I have read with indignation the language held by the Tuscan Minister. I have, in addition, to complain of two flagrant violations of the neutrality, which ought to subsist between the two Courts, in the fort at Leghorn having fired shot at his Majesty's ship la Minerve, and a transport under her

convoy, and at his Majesty's sloops l'Eclair, Vanneau, and Fox cutter. After having pledged my word of honour to the late Governor Serrati, that I would be answerable for the conduct of his Majesty's ships under my command, I little expected so soon to have heard of an insult, bordering on hostility, committed against the British nation, not to be endured for a moment. The crew of l'Horrible are, I conceive, to be considered as pirates to all intents and purposes, and to be tried as such: if there were any consistency in the French government, the Minister of that republic at Florence would be the first to demand it. There being no tribunal in Tuscany competent to the decision of an act of piracy, I can scarcely believe: because the law of nations upon a crime so destructive to commerce and navigation, is equally binding on all civilized countries. I request your Excellency will have the goodness to make the strongest remonstrances against these unjustifiable proceedings.'

Commodore Nelson to Admiral Sir J. Jervis, dated off Cape Noli, May 4, 1796.

'Sir: I got out of Genoa yesterday forenoon, and this morning joined Blanche. It is said, that on the 1st instant the French took possession of Alessandria. I have still hopes from General Beaulieu; should these people follow him into the plain, his force is very respectable. The French are levying contributions of money, bread, &c. all over Piedmont; and the Piedmontese are said to have paid more already, than they used to give their King for several years. I expect to hear you are far westerly after the enemy. It is not improbable, that they may be bound for Cadiz, to engage Admiral Man off that port, and be joined at the same time by Richery; but all must be conjecture, they may also be bound to Sicily, where every thing is not right.'

In continuation, May 8. 'Since writing to you on the 4th, but little has occurred. I send you a copy of the treaty of suspension of arms, and of Mr. Trevor's letter to Mr. Brame. From the first, it appears that the King of Sardinia was to accept of what the five Kings may direct; for the Minister, and Salicetti, &c. would not hear of a treaty of peace, without orders from Paris. I cannot but observe, between ourselves, that a Minister may be continued too long at a particular Court; he thus becomes imperceptibly the friend of that Court, when he ought to be the jealous observer of their conduct.

'The Meleager has joined me from Leghorn. The Viceroy has bought the 1600 stand of arms, and all the ammunition: we expect that the hulls of the vessels will also be condemned, for they are hired transports. Yesterday evening we chased into Loano a French gun-boat, two light brigs, and one deep one; they came last from the anchorage at Alassio; but we are rather inclined to believe they sailed at first from Vado: It fell stark calm, as we got within shot, and dark. Several shot struck the Blanche, and one a hot one, which set her on fire, but we soon got the shot cut out, and towed off; her sails and rigging were also cut, but not a man was killed or wounded. With our general good

luck, not a shot struck us, and only one gun was fired from the squadron; we were long gun shot distant, and it would have been merely a waste of powder and shot. The enemy have at least 500 men at work building a new battery, and I am waiting for a good wind to get at them, when I shall fully expect the deep laden brig.

'Two brigs, and several tartans, having got into Finale, which we supposed to be French, I took the opportunity of the enemy's fancying we were looking at them, to send the boats of the squadron, under Lieutenants Culverhouse, Compton and Drummond, belonging to the Meleager, Agamemnon, and Peterell, and also Lieutenant Grant of the Blanche, to cut out the vessels at Finale; which they did without a person in the town, or vessels, knowing it: but they were all Genoese, and I released them this morning, sending a note to the Governor of Finale, which I trust can do no harm, and may be of some use to us.'

'*May* 14*th*, *Gulf of Genoa*. The Diadem joined me yesterday, after ten days absence, not having been able to get out of Genoa Mole. We have had, and now have extraordinary weather, fogs, heavy swells, and calms. I send you Mr. Trevor's letter[p] to me. The French, by Captain Towry's account, have crossed the Po, and with little or no opposition. Reports say, General Beaulieu is retreating to Mantua, and that Milan has presented its keys to the enemy. Where, or when, is the progress of these people to be stopped? If the Emperor has not troops to face them, peace seems the only alternative. . . . I must now revert to a subject as unpleasant for you to hear, as for me to write, The miserable state of the Agamemnon, who, with Meleager, is like two tubs floating on the water. I have every reason to believe that our ground-tier has given way, we know that some of the casks fell in. I am glad Captain Smith got good rope at Ajaccio; what has been sent us is without exception the worst I ever saw, the twice-laid we make on board is far preferable; indeed I never saw any so bad in my life. How can a Commander in Chief form a true judgment from such directly opposite assertions? I must suppose, that the ship going to the fleet was intended to be well served, and as to us, it was of no consequence, being too far from the ear of the Commander in Chief. This may be politic, but cannot be proper.

'*May* 15*th*. I send you Salicetti's account of the defeat of Beaulieu; but Captain Elphinstone tells me it is not believed; pray God it may not be true. I have now before me complaints from the Genoese Secretary of State, for taking their vessels even out of a French port: I have also complaints, that we allowed a French convoy to pass us. Indeed, my dear Sir, you may perceive I feel distressed. Do you really think we are of any use

[p] Mr. Trevor, in his letter, written in cypher, desired the Commodore to acquaint Sir John Jervis of the desperate state of the kingdom of Sardinia; which, added to the insurrection in Corsica, required all the vigilance and vigour we could exert: he also begged, that a watchful eye might be kept on the plan of operations of the Spanish Minister.

here? If not, we may serve our Country much more by being in other places. The Levant, and coast of Spain, call aloud for ships, and they are, I fancy, employed to no purpose here; for unless the Austrians get possession of a point of land, *We cannot stop the coasting trade.*'

To the same, dated Leghorn Roads, May 18, 1796.

'The Comet joined me off Cape Noli, the night of the 15th, and I left the squadron with Captain Cockburn, who I am sure will do every thing that is proper. We arrived here yesterday morning in a gale of wind, and I hope to have my ship ready for sea by the 20th, or 21st. One of the Neapolitan flotilla is now here, the others are at Port Longono in Elba, and I do not much expect they will get further than Leghorn, before Naples is at peace; a measure that seems absolutely necessary for that Court to adopt. The French say they will go to Rome, and the distance to Naples is then but little. As the French cannot want supplies to be brought into the Gulf of Genoa, for their grand army, I am still of opinion, that if our frigates are wanted for other services, they may very well be spared from the Gulf. Money, provisions, and clothes, the enemy have in abundance; and they command Arsenals to supply their wants in arms and ammunition.

'I have felt, and do feel, Sir, every degree of sensibility, and gratitude, for your kind and flattering attention, in directing me to hoist a distinguishing pendant; but as the service, for which it was intended to be useful, is nearly, if not quite at an end, I assure you I shall have no regret in striking it; for it will afford me an opportunity of serving nearer your flag, and of endeavouring to shew, by my attention in a subordinate station, that I was not unworthy of commanding. Reports are afloat that a promotion is certainly very near; and, if so, the Admiralty will either direct my flag to be hoisted here, or I shall have a land voyage.

'I must now, dear Sir, take the liberty of saying a word respecting my health. It certainly is not bad, on the contrary I believe it is better than what medical people assert; but, I believe, a little rest, and the baths of Pisa, the same nearly as those of Bath, would render me great benefit. If I could, without any impediment to the service, take twenty days to fit me for another winter, I should not dislike it; and yet, perhaps, I shall do without it. I do not much like what I have written.'

In a letter to Mrs. Nelson, on the 20th of May, 1796, from Leghorn, he mentioned, with his usual gratitude, a relation who had shewn him a most generous and marked attention. 'This may possibly find you at Mr. Suckling's;[q] if so, I beg you will say every kind thing for me. We are certainly under greater obligations to him, than to any one: He is a good man, and a respectable character.—If I am ordered to hoist my flag in this country, the compliment is great; and therefore we must both rest contented for a little time.

[q] The late Mr. William Suckling, of the Custom House, then residing at Kentish Town, brother to Captain Maurice Suckling, R. N. died at the close of the year 1798.

The French must soon be tired, and I believe all our Allies are so already. The Dukes of Parma, and of Modena, have both made treaties with the French, paying large sums of money; and, in their treaties, it is specified, that certain pictures are to be delivered, to be sent to Paris. The palace of the Louvre is to have the finest gallery of pictures in the world. The Pope has offered ten millions of crowns to prevent their coming to Rome; and it is said they have refused it, unless the famous statue of the Apollo Belvidere is sent to Paris. What a race of people! but they have done wonders. Reinforcements are coming to join General Beaulieu; and the inhabitants of the Tyrol, a hardy and warlike nation, are rising to join the General. If all the states of Italy make peace, we have nothing to look to but Corsica; which, in the present state of its inhabitants, is not, in my opinion, an object to keep us in the Mediterranean: we shall, I hope, quit it, and employ our fleet more to our advantage.'

The utter dislike of the Commodore to ask for any cessation from service, lest he might appear inattentive to the important duties intrusted to him, and which he so forcibly expressed in his preceding letter to the Admiral, at length induced him to abandon his intention of going to the baths of Pisa. In writing to Sir John Jervis on the 23d of May, after informing him that the whole of the Neapolitan flotilla had not yet joined, nor even left Naples, Nelson added, ' I believe there is a struggle between the courts of Vienna and Spain, which shall dictate to that of Naples. The advances of the French have been certainly much facilitated by the defection of our Allies, brought on, in this part, by their fears. Report says, the Pope has accommodated matters with the French: however that will not stop them, if the Austrian army is unable. General Beaulieu is certainly getting reinforcements, and the French have not for one week advanced. The castle of Milan has twice repulsed the French, who now only blockade it. I hope to sail at daylight. I again beg, Sir, if you think I can be in any way useful by coming to you, without the pendant, that you will order it to be struck without hesitation. I do not believe my health is such as to require Pisa just now, at least I am willing to believe so.'

May 30, 1796, *in continuation*. ' I send Captain Cockburn, as I believe his anxiety to get into la Minerve is great. Your cruise off Toulon is no doubt tedious, but not uninteresting in its consequences; for if any plan, which the Directory have laid, is defeated for three or four months, there is no calculating what benefit may arise to our Country from it: I think they are bound to the westward, I cannot bring myself to believe they will venture eastward; if they do, I have no doubt but we shall get at them. I know not what opinion to give about my squadron: I have written to Mr. Drake on the subject, and much will depend on his account of what the Austrian army is likely to do. If it can again make head, and this insurrection of the peasantry be encouraged, we may be of some use; but the Austrians have now no object to bring them on the sea coast.

'Lieutenant Berry joined me in the Comet, and I have, as far as I have seen, every reason to be satisfied with him, both as a gentleman and an officer. I had a few days ago a plan for taking the French brig of war out of Vado, and intrusted the execution of it to him: it miscarried from an unforeseen and improbable event, but I was much pleased by Mr. Berry's strict attention to my instructions.

'The Meleager joined me yesterday, and I send you, Sir, all the letters and information received by her. Mr. Trevor seems to think a Spanish war is almost unavoidable, and that the French, after all their protestations, will take possession of Leghorn. My mind is clear, if they have force to penetrate further into Italy, they will possess themselves of that place. The Toulon information is, as I always thought, pleasant to know, but never to be depended upon; all is guess, they may go east, west, north, or south. These Commissioners know nothing, they write a history to get money, and in this, I fancy, they succeed wonderfully well.—I hope to hear from Mr. Drake of the actual situation of the Armies, and if he has hopes: should he have none (for he will have them, if within probability, however distant) I shall not have the smallest.'

Sir John Jervis, in writing to Sir William Hamilton on the same day, May 30th, justly commended the spirit which the King of Naples had at that time displayed: 'I beg, Sir, you will convey the high sense and admiration which my mind is penetrated with, on reading the magnanimous declaration of his Sicilian Majesty; and I have only to add, that every nerve shall be exerted by the fleet I have the honour to command, to defeat the designs of the enemy by sea, wherever they may be directed: to this effect I am making dispositions to maintain the position I now occupy, during the summer months; and should I be so fortunate as to preserve the health of the people, I have no doubt of accomplishing it.'

On the 31st of May, Nelson's squadron gained additional honour by the capture of a valuable convoy of arms, intrenching tools, and ammunition, which had been sent to Buonaparte for carrying on the siege of Mantua. The following is the official account which the Commodore sent to Sir John Jervis, dated June 1, 1796, off Oneglia. 'Sir: At two P. M. yesterday, seeing six sail running along shore, which I believed to be French, and knowing the great consequence of intercepting the cannon and ordnance stores, that I had information were expected from Toulon, to be landed at S. Pier d'Arena for the siege of Mantua; I made the signal for a general chace, when the vessels hoisted French colours, and anchored close under a battery. I directed Captain Cockburn of the Meleager to lead me in, which he did in a most officer-like manner, and at three o'clock the Meleager, and Agamemnon, anchored in less than four fathoms water, as did soon afterwards the Peterell and Speedy After a short resistance from the battery, and vessels, we took possession of them. It is impossible I can do justice to the alacrity and gallantry ever con-

spicuous in my little squadron. Our boats boarded the national ketch, the commodore of the convoy, in the fire of three eighteen-pounders, and one eighteen-pounder in a gun-boat. The Blanche and Diadem, being to leeward, the former could not anchor until the vessels had struck; but the boats of all the ships were active in getting the prizes off the shore, the enemy having cut their cables when they surrendered. A smart fire of musquetry was kept up from the shore during the whole of this service. The Agamemnon's masts, sails, and rigging, are a little cut, but of no material consequence.

'Much as I feel indebted to every officer in the squadron, yet I cannot omit the mention of the great support, and assistance, I have ever received from Captain Cockburn, who has been nearly a year under my command on this station; and I should feel myself guilty of neglect of duty, were I not to represent his zeal, ability, and courage, which are conspicuous on every occasion that offers. Enclosed I transmit you a list of the [r] killed and wounded, and of the vessels taken.'

Sir John Jervis transmitted this letter to the Admiralty, on the 8th of June, 1796, when off Toulon, and added, 'Their Lordships are so thoroughly acquainted with the vigilance and enterprise of Commodore Nelson, that I forbear to repeat his merits.'

June 2, off Nice, in continuation. 'I have sent the Diadem, with all the prizes, except the armed ketch, first to San Fiorenzo, where the brig, and if not too leaky the ketch laden with ordnance stores, are to be left; and I have written to the Viceroy, that if he wants any of them for the island, I will direct them to be landed. The mortars are wonderfully fine, thirteen and a half inch: but the number of either cannon or mortars we know not. The vessel with brandy, and the gun-boat, if not wanted in Corsica, I have desired Captain Towry to carry to Leghorn. I have kept the ketch with me, and put a mate and a few men into her, and occasionally shall send her in shore, where she may be of great use; she sails and rows exceedingly well, had been just hove down, and completely refitted. By papers found, sixteen sail of transports are destined for Vado, with ordnance stores for the siege, and cannoniers. I wish we may get any, but the chance is much against us: I can only promise, that I will not miss an opportunity. I have an account of the exact force of the enemy on the 6th of February, which was sent to General

[r] *Agamemnon,* killed one, wounded two. *Blanche,* wounded one.

Ships of war taken.

La Genie, ketch, three eighteen pounders, two four-pounders, four swivels, and 50 men.
La Numero Douzel, gun-boat, one eighteen-pounder, four swivels, and 30 men.

Transports taken.

Brig, 200 tons, laden with cannon, twenty-four pounders, shot, and shells.
Ketch, 80 tons, laden with gun-carriages, shells, and powder.
Ketch, 70 tons, laden with provisions.
Ketch, 80 tons, laden with wheelbarrows, intrenching tools, &c. *destroyed.*

Buonaparte: it consists, including the garrison of Toulon and the whole coast, of 65,000 men. The army, when Buonaparte took the command, was effective 30,875. Probably many of the 65,000 are gone forward; but still, on the whole, the force is not so great as I believed. I have got the charts of Italy sent by the Directory to Buonaparte, also Mallebois' wars in Italy, Vauban's attack and defence of Places, and Prince Eugene's History; all sent for the General. If Buonaparte is ignorant, the Directory, it would appear, wish to instruct him: pray God he may remain ignorant.

'In my public letter it was impossible to enumerate every individual; but next to Captain Cockburn stands Captain Stuart of the Peterell: Spicer* commanded the boats which first boarded the ketch, under the heavy fire, and had a little skirmish when on board, and to him the commander surrendered.'

The grateful manner, in which the affectionate disposition of Nelson expressed his obligations to his commanding officer, and his rigid determination to remain afloat, notwithstanding a most painful indisposition, are expressed in a letter dated June 3. 'I feel obligations to you on every occasion, since I have had the pleasure of serving under your command; and I endeavour by an assiduous attention to my duty, to merit the continuance of your good opinion. I shall not go to Pisa at present, we may be useful here; and, to say the truth, when I am actively employed, I am not so bad. My complaint is as if a girth were buckled taut over my breast, and my endeavour, in the night, is to get it loose. If the service will admit of it, I shall, perhaps, at a future day take your leave. I wish, Sir, that Captain Cockburn had the Minerve; he is worthy of her, or a better ship. My poor soldier officer (Lieutenant Pearson) wishes much to go with me; if it be possible, pray indulge us.'

The only apprehension which the Commodore sometimes indulged, in those moments of depression which the great exertions both of his mind and body produced, was the painful idea, that having been so long in the Mediterranean, in an old and worn out ship, he should be removed from serving under the flag of an Admiral who had shewn him such attention. Whilst in this state of mind, he received one of those encouraging and flattering letters from Sir J. Jervis, which never fail to impart additional energy to the zealous and ingenuous mind. Nelson's answer is dated Fiorenzo, June 4, 1796. 'I feel highly flattered by your desire to have me continue to serve under your command, which I own would afford me infinite satisfaction; and I therefore beg leave to propose some measures, that may still give me that pleasure.

'The first is, although the Agamemnon can certainly remain in this country for the next three months, she must be in England before the winter. Another is, that if a sixty-

* The following officers, as appears from some memoranda, were at this time Lieutenants of the Agamemnon, 1. Berry, 2. Spicer, 3. Suckling, 4. Summers, 5. Noble, 6. Compton.

four is ordered to go, although Diadem is certainly in better plight than Agamemnon, yet in point of sailing she is much inferior. The third is, if you really think that the Admiralty will order my Flag to be hoisted in this country, that you would direct me to hoist my pendant on board any ship you judge proper. You will easily perceive, that my wishes to stay are sincere; were they not, after your kindness to me, I should be ungrateful.

'*June 5th.* I am not, Dear Sir, less anxious than yesterday, for having slept since my last letter:—Indeed I cannot bear the thoughts of leaving your command. You have placed an unbounded confidence in me, and, I own, I feel that no exertion of mine has been wanting for a moment, to merit so great an honour.'

Amidst the excesses and cruelty which the French at this time committed, it was their custom to sell their Austrian prisoners to the Spaniards, who transported some of these wretched victims to their mines in South America, and selected the best for recruits. Mr. Graves, who was agent at the Court of Rome, declared, in a letter that has been already published,[1] 'That, from the month of September 1796, to the end of March 1797, when he had much intercourse with the Commodore's squadron, the conversation of the Italians often turned upon this cruel conduct of the French, towards their Austrian prisoners at Genoa. They were first marched into that city in such numbers, as actually to be almost famished; and were then sold in lots, by dozens, hundreds, and thousands, to Spanish agents, at the rate of a dollar a man; and as fast as vessels could be procured, they were shipped off for the Spanish mines in South America, never to return.' This outrage to all humanity, was also noticed by the Commander in Chief, Sir John Jervis, in the following letter to Lord Bute: 'The French commissioners, on the coast of Genoa, make a practice of selling the Austrian prisoners to the agents for recruiting the Spanish army. Commodore Nelson has fortunately had an opportunity of incontestibly proving the fact, and was supplicated by the aforementioned agents not to report upon it. But he has my orders, to make an exact representation of the case, to the General commanding the Austrian army in Italy, and a formal complaint may be expected shortly from the Court of Vienna to that of Madrid.' In another letter to Mr. Jackson, Secretary of Legation at Turin, Sir John Jervis added: 'From a Swiss dealer in human flesh, the demand made upon me to deliver up 152 Austrian grenadiers, serving on board his Majesty's fleet under my command, is natural enough; but that a Spaniard, who is a noble creature, should join in such a demand, I must confess astonishes me; and I can only account for it, by the Chevalier Caamano being ignorant, that the persons in question were made prisoners of war in the last affair of General Beaulieu, and are not deserters, and that they were most basely and inhumanly sold by the French commissaries, in the western Riviera of Genoa, to the vile crimps who recruit for the foreign regiments in the service of Spain. It is high

[1] Naval Chronicle, Vol. I. page 476.

time a stop should be put to this abominable traffic, a million times more disgraceful than the African slave trade; and I trust the strong remonstrances about to be made by the Court of Vienna, to the Court of Madrid, will produce the desired effect. In the mean while, I request you will make my acknowledgments to Mr. Wickham, for the judicious manner in which he treated the subject, in his correspondence with the Chevalier Caamano.'

The communication from Commodore Nelson, which Sir J. Jervis noticed, when writing to Lord Bute, as incontestibly proving this nefarious traffic, is dated June 5, 1796. 'Two days after we took the vessel with Austrian troops on board, who had been made prisoners by the French, a boat came off to Captain Cockburn, with a Genoese master and the crew of the vessel, and papers, to say, they were chartered by the Spanish consul at Savona, to carry these troops to Barcelona for the Swiss regiment. I have examined some of the Austrians, who assert, that they were marched by a guard to the vessel, and, when on board, a person gave them thirty sous each, and told them they were going to Spain, where they would find many of their comrades. The men declared it was against their inclination, and that they wished to return to their own service, or to serve with the English until there was an opportunity. Knowing, as I do, that the French absolutely sell them to the Spaniards, I have no scruple in keeping them, to be sent back to their own Sovereign; and, if you, Sir, approve, I will discharge the Genoese vessel, and put the men, with Admiral Linzee's permission, into the Mignonne. They want a change of apparel, and a bed each, which, if we get no work for, the German government ought to provide: they are as fine healthy looking men as I ever saw, the oldest of one hundred and fifty-two is thirty-four years of age. Until we have an opportunity of sending them to General Beaulieu, I think they would add to the strength of our ships, five ships 30 each: This is submitted with deference to your better judgment. As the Speedy is come in with one of our prizes, I take the liberty of sending her to receive your final directions. I have written so fully by the Egmont, which I hope will be with you to-morrow, that I shall not venture to urge my request, viz. That you would contrive that I may still serve with you: I may have been impertinent in suggesting so many ways, by which I might still remain; but do not, Sir, imagine that I meant any thing by my propositions, than what an anxious disposition pointed out.'

Soon after the writing of these letters, the sanguine mind of the Commodore received, whilst at St. Fiorenzo, the completion of his wishes; and, on the 9th of June, he thus expressed to the Admiral, the satisfaction which his kindness had afforded: 'I rejoice, my dear Sir, not a little, at the certainty of remaining under your command: four hours will change all my matters, and I am very anxious to resume my station.'

He also took an early opportunity to send home the intelligence of this mark of favour

with his commander; which gratified Nelson the more, from his knowing that so many officers were then moving all their interest to be sent out to the Mediterranean. The following is the first letter that was written after leaving his old ship, the Agamemnon, dated Captain, at sea, June 13. 'You will see, my dear Fanny, by the date of this letter, that I have at last left poor old Agamemnon. Whether it is right or wrong, time must determine. I have remained in a state of uncertainty for a week; and had the corn ships, which were momentarily expected from Naples, arrived, I should have sailed for England. The Admiral has on every occasion behaved with the greatest attention to me; and, if I am to serve, it is better I should serve in this country, where I am known and respected, than to take my chance by being sent home, and ordered to another station. All Agamemnon's officers are changed, except Suckling, and the master, who has a wife and large family. Suckling wishes, as his elder brother is dead, to return: I do not believe any one person in the world has a better heart than he has, or who would do more real good, if Providence ordains that he should be master of the Wooton estate. I have sent my small present for you by him, and also something for my Father. What is become of George Tobin? he is a fine young man: it is a pity he has not got more forward.

'*June* 19, 1796. I have just left Sir John Jervis: the French are fitting, and if Richery joins from Cadiz, they may come out: but we shall certainly beat them, if it pleases God to give us the opportunity. Indeed the French say, *They are masters on shore, and the English at sea.* The Pope has paid largely to save Rome: Naples, I suppose, must pay also. Both the Emperor, and Spain, are trying which shall succeed with Naples, one for war, the other for peace. The Emperor must either directly have 100,000 men in Italy, or make peace; how that will affect England I know not. If we can make a good peace, I wish for it, but hope we shall not be so pusillanimous as to give up all our conquests.'

On the same day, June 19th, the Commodore commenced his correspondence with Colonel Graham, respecting the operations of the allied Army, and such communications as he wished to make to General Beaulieu; and on the 20th, according to Sir John Jervis' directions, he also began a confidential correspondence with Mr. Graves at Rome, on such subjects as came within the limits of the command, between Toulon and Genoa.

In a letter to Captain Locker of the same date, June 20th, Nelson informed him, that, on Captain Sutton's declining to go home in the Egmont, he stood for England in the Agamemnon for more than a week; however, when it was known in the fleet that the Egmont did not return, many wished to go, and the Commander of the Captain, being in a bad state of health, had the preference: 'I left Sir John Jervis,' adds the Commodore, 'yesterday off Toulon, in good health and spirits; he most particularly desired me to make his kindest remembrances to you, and to say, he had not a moment to spare from the constant correspondence he is obliged to continue; for our ministers at all the Italian

ports are constantly writing. As to news, the armies of the French so far outnumber General Beaulieu, that he has been obliged to retreat into the Tyrol.'—It may be here observed, that notwithstanding the numbers of the French army, and its skill, it owed still more to that series of bribery and treachery, which gradually became established into a military system. 'It is well known,' says a political writer, 'that Buonaparte one day incautiously declared, *That the Austrian army cost him more than his own.*' [x]

On the 23d of June, 1796, Commodore Nelson sent the following letter to the Admiral, dated from Genoa Mole, respecting the proceedings of the French, and their increasing influence. 'I came in here on Tuesday, and shall get to sea this day; when I shall lose no time in proceeding with the Meleager to Leghorn, the situation of which is very critical. An additional treaty has been made between the King of Sardinia, and the French; it was signed at their head-quarters at Tortona, on the 17th of June. Oneglia and Loano are absolutely to be given up to the King of Sardinia, as are the other fortresses. The King, by constant guards, is to protect the baggage and stores of the French, who appear to want every man in Italy; and have therefore made exactly the same terms with the Genoese, and declare that they will evacuate the whole Riviera. Report says, General Beaulieu has given the French a check, and that the peasantry have killed full 15,000 men: pray God it may be true.

'The complaints of the Genoese government are so ridiculous, that I hardly know what to say: If we are to allow the free passage of the enemy coastways, we are useless. The best mode, in my opinion, is to speak openly—*That so long as the French are in possession of batteries on the coast, which fire on our ships, so long we shall consider it as an enemy's coast.* I have the pleasure to declare, our conduct has so completely alarmed the French, that all their coasting trade is at an end; even the corvettes, gun-boats, &c. which were moored under the fortresses of Vado, have not thought themselves in security, but are all gone into Savona Mole, and have unbent their sails.'

These complaints being afterwards officially presented against the Commodore, in a most illiberal manner, he felt himself obliged in honour to answer them to his Admiral, June 25th. 'I send you, my dear Sir, a full reply to the three complaints of the Genoese Secretary of State; a copy of which I have also enclosed for Mr. Drake, that he may answer the government of Genoa, if he thinks it right. The Genoese can only make these complaints to please the French; but I cannot think it right, that we are to be traduced to please any nation on earth.' In this statement [y] the Commodore entered into a long and necessary detail of facts; and repels, with his wonted ability, the uncandid accusa-

[x] Nouveau Interêts de l'Europe.

[y] The only copy that remains, which consists of five folio pages, is in the valuable collection of Earl St. Vincent, dated June 24, 1796.

tions which the Genoese government had preferred against him to Lord Grenville, without affording the Commodore an opportunity, as he declared, of refuting, or even explaining his conduct: 'A measure which I consider as tending, in a certain degree, to injure my character, by the possibility of an impression remaining on the mind of my Sovereign, of my having acted wrong.'

The following letter to Sir John Jervis gives some interesting details of the operations of the French army under Buonaparte, when taking possession of Leghorn. '*Leghorn Roads, June 28th.* Sir: I made the best of my way to this place, as I wrote you word from Genoa was my intention, but from calms, and contrary winds, it was yesterday morning before I anchored in the northern road of this port. The French took possession of the town about one o'clock, and immediately fired on the Inconstant, and a prize of Captain Hood's laden with timber; but without doing them any damage. The exertions of Captain Freemantle[z] must have been very great; for the Consul, and Mr. Fonnereau, tell me, that except bad debts, and the loss of furniture, nothing of any great consequence was left in the town. I hear the Governor behaved with all the attention in his power to the English, by doubling the guards on the Mole to prevent them from being molested in getting out their vessels; and, that when it was represented to him, that 200 bullocks, and some bread, were shipping for the English, his answer was, *Leghorn is a free port, and shall remain so, until I receive contrary orders from the Grand Duke.*

'I have just detained a fishing-boat from the town: the troops entered at Porta Pisa, and marched through Via Grande to the Mole battery. General Buonaparte went to the palace of the Grand Duke, and thence made a visit to the Governor, and took possession of the house of the English Consul. A French sentinel is mounted at the gates with a Tuscan. Except the French troops necessary for the batteries, the rest lie outside the town, on the glacis; for not one has a tent. The Governor set off directly for Florence. I have written to say, That whatever may be their policy, in withholding a few vegetables and fruit from me, yet that their fishing-boats might safely go out as usual; for we never wished to distress innocent inhabitants. I intend remaining here for a day or two, in order to prevent any English ship from entering, until the news may spread about. It is then my intention to proceed to St. Fiorenzo, to get wine, wood, &c. and thence to go to Genoa. I find my ship well manned, although not active.'

His Excellency the Hon. John Trevor to Commodore Nelson, dated June 30, 1796.

'Many thanks for your kind letter of the 22d. You may depend upon my giving you the earliest intelligence I may receive of your flag; and I shall drink with equal zeal, and confidence, to the success of the Admiral of the van. . . . . I do not know how far any dependence can long be placed on resources, from either Corsica or Sardinia. You

[z] Twenty-three sail of square-rigged vessels, and fourteen tartans, put to sea with this officer.

may be sure there are powerful French intrigues at work in both, and they are capable of some foul play in the former: I hope the Viceroy is perfectly on his guard. I was very glad to hear you say he began to be tired of that restless ungrateful people, whom I wish we could any how get rid of. Porto Ferrajo, and the little island of Elba, will I suppose now become important to us; and I hope we shall make no scruple of looking upon them as our own, in example of the French at Leghorn, the inhabitants of which, with the Grand Duke, are to be pitied; but Genoa can, and ought to defend itself. . . . . Rome is said to have bought a peace, Naples is making hers at Basle, and the Emperor is trying to get the best he can. By letters from Madrid of June 7th, I have reason to believe that the firm tone of Lord Bute, and Admiral Man, have made the Spaniards postpone, at least, any intention of quarrelling with his Majesty.'

In a letter to Sir Gilbert Elliot, the Viceroy of Corsica, dated from St. Fiorenzo, July 1, 1796, the Commodore further noticed the proceedings of the French at Leghorn: 'The English are under infinite obligations to Spannochi, who is suffering for it, and to Captain Freemantle. You may be assured that no exertions of my own were wanting to have got sooner to Leghorn; but it was Thursday noon before we heard the rumour at Genoa, and on the same day they knew it at Leghorn, when an express was sent me. Calms prevented my arrival until Monday morning: fortunately my assistance was not wanted, and it was owing to these apparently unlucky calms that so much property was saved. As soon as I get some provisions and wood, I shall go over to Genoa for letters and information, whence I shall proceed directly to the fleet. I sincerely hope the enemy may be induced to come out before they know of Buonaparte's retreat; for I have no doubt but the destination of the French army was Corsica, and it is natural to suppose their fleet was to amuse ours whilst they crossed from Leghorn.'

The good faith of the Governor Spannochi[b] forms a striking contrast to the ignoble conduct of those who were so ready to make any peace with the enemies of their country. The following are the curious epistles which on this occasion passed between Buonaparte and the Grand Duke of Tuscany. '*Leghorn, June* 29. Royal Highness: An hour before we entered Leghorn, an English frigate carried off two French ships worth 500,000 livres. The Governor suffered them to be taken under the fire of his batteries, which was contrary to the intention of your Royal Highness, and the neutrality of the port of Leghorn. I prefer a complaint to your R. H. against this Governor, who in his whole conduct displays a decided hatred against the French. He yesterday endeavoured, at the moment of our arrival, to make the people rise up against us: there is no kind of ill treatment he did not cause our advanced guard to experience. I should doubtless have been justified in bring-

[b] Spannochi was by birth a Neapolitan, and had commanded, in 1793, the Guiscardi at Toulon, under the Mareshal Forteguerri.

ing him to trial before a military commission; but from respect for your Royal Highness, and being intimately convinced of the spirit of justice, which directs all your actions, I preferred sending him to Florence, where I am persuaded, you will give orders to have him punished severely. I must, at the same time, return my thanks to your R. H. for your goodness in appointing General Strasoldo to supply the army with every thing that was necessary, he has acquitted himself with equal zeal and success. *Buonaparte.*'—To this insolent abuse of the brave Spannochi succeeded the following letter of his Sovereign. 'General: general Spannochi, confined by your order, has been brought hither. It is a point of delicacy to keep him in arrest until the motives of this step, which I presume to be just, are known to me, in order to give you, as well as the French republic and all Europe, the greatest proof of equity conformably to the laws of my country, to which I have always made it my duty to submit myself. I send this letter by the Marquis Manfredini, my major domo, whom I request you to inform in what Spannochi has been culpable. You may besides repose full confidence in him relative to all the objects interesting to the repose of my subjects. I ardently desire to receive a letter, written by yourself, which in the present circumstances may render me completely tranquil, and at the same time confirm the repose of Tuscany. FERDINAND.'

The day after Commodore Nelson's arrival at St. Fiorenzo, July 2, 1796, he sent the following letter[c] to Sir G. Elliot, the Viceroy of Corsica. 'By the Inconstant I have received directions from the Admiral to blockade the port of Leghorn, and to be aiding and assisting to your Excellency in preventing any attempt of the French on the island of Corsica, and in such other respects as you may wish, and which may be in my power. You will give me credit, I am sure, for my fullest exertion in the execution of this duty; and that, if on every occasion I do not comply with all your wishes, it is owing to the want of means, and not the want of inclination. Having premised this, I shall relate my present intentions, which time and a variety of circumstances must occasionally alter.

'Blanche I hope is at Leghorn, Meleager sails to-morrow morning at farthest, and I shall sail on Monday morning, and shall take Sardine with me. I purpose anchoring myself with Sardine in the northern road of Leghorn, and that two ships shall always cruise to the southward of the town; and shall anchor all vessels near me, until I consider on, or receive further directions about them. The very sight of forty, or fifty sail, must be mortifying to the French, and shew the Tuscans the happy effects of their *rigid* neutrality. I also intend to have a vessel every day passing between Bastia and Leghorn, and from Leghorn to Genoa.'

On the next day, July 3d, he wrote to Sir John Jervis, from St. Fiorenzo. 'Sir: I wish much to have your ideas respecting the blockade of Leghorn, for the one we had of

[c] Lord Minto's Collection.

Genoa was of little consequence; the vessels were told they must not enter Genoa, but the first dark night, or brisk wind, never failed to carry them in: if we stopped them, it only became an expence, for which Mr. Udney has not been paid. I am this day equipping the French gun-boat, which I intend always to have near me; she carries an eighteen-pounder in her bow, and will of course be very useful. I mean not only to prevent all vessels from entering, but also from sailing; giving them notice, that they shall not sail without coming on board me for permission and examination: this will lower the French, and raise us in the esteem of the Leghornese.

'I have written to the Viceroy, and send you a copy of my letter: Believe me, Sir, nothing shall be wanting, on my part, to do every thing possible to distress the enemy. The possession of Porto Ferrajo may be desirable for us; but I trust General Beaulieu will yet give a good account of these marauders. A very close blockade of Leghorn for a fortnight may have the happy effect of rousing the inhabitants. I pray God for good news from Beaulieu, then all will be well. The more I can anchor in sight of the place, the more effect it will have. How much pleased I am with Colonel Graham's letter: It is clearly owing to the Navy[d] that the siege of Mantua was raised.'—This opinion from Colonel Graham must have been particularly gratifying to the Commodore, as it proved the real advantages which the Allies had gained by his prompt and gallant attack at l'Arma; when the battering cannon, and ammunition, for the siege of Mantua were either taken or destroyed, and also a number of plans of Italy, with the different posts minutely marked where former battles had been fought.

Sir John Jervis, in a letter to Mr. Gregory, our Consul at Barcelona, mentioned his particular reasons for ordering this strict blockade of Leghorn: 'I desire you will communicate to all the foreign consuls at Barcelona, and along the coast of Spain, that the moment I was informed of the violent and unjustifiable conduct of the French General Buonaparte, on his entering Leghorn, I sent orders to Commodore Nelson to blockade the port in the closest manner; and to seize all ships and vessels attempting to enter it, after the 20th instant, and send them to Bastia to be proceeded against in the Admiralty court, and to suffer no vessel to depart from Leghorn.'

Sir Gilbert Elliot in his answer to Commodore Nelson from Bastia, July 4th, after expressing his joy at seeing the blockade of Leghorn, and the protection of Corsica, in such good hands, he informed him of some instructions which had been drawn up for the Corsican privateers, and communicated such hints as were the most likely to promote the exertions of the squadron, in destroying the coasting-trade and supplies of the enemy. Commodore Nelson in his reply, July 5th, said, 'As you had the goodness to tell me of your regulations for the Corsican privateers, I shall make my observations on them freely.

[d] See preceding page 285.

To the last I agree most perfectly, ' That, if I had a privateer along with me, as a tender, she would often take vessels near shore, or in light breezes, which I could not take alone; whilst, on the other hand, she would venture nearer to the coast, when supported by a King's ship in the offing.'—I am sure none of my squadron will differ with me in this respect; and if two or more Corsican privateers join me, each vessel, whilst they remain under my command, shall share alike; that is, if I have six vessels, and the Corsicans two, they shall share one quarter, and if more or less, in the same proportion. The wind yesterday was a hurricane; we have been under sail, but were obliged to anchor again.'—Sir John Jervis, when writing to the Viceroy, greatly approved of these instructions, and hints, from Sir Gilbert Elliot: ' The attaching a Corsican privateer or two,' said the Admiral, ' to each division of Commodore Nelson's squadron, in the different dispositions he has made for the blockade, is an admirable idea; and the mode of dividing the amount of the captures made by them jointly, may be regulated according to the usage of ships of war, and privateers, out of Great Britain, under the like circumstances.'

On the 6th of July, 1796, when at sea, the Commodore wrote a letter to Mr. Brame, respecting the blockade, in which the orders of the Admiral were supported with all the spirit they deserved: ' And you will also signify, that the entrance of the road, which includes the space inside the Melora, will be considered as the port of Leghorn. . . I have also further to desire, that you will acquaint the government of Genoa, and all the Foreign Ministers and Consuls, that no vessel will be permitted to leave the port of Leghorn, until it is delivered from the hands of its present tyrannical rulers, and restored to its legal government; and you will desire the several parties mentioned, to write to their Consuls at Leghorn of this my determination; and, as I think it honourable to make this public, that no person may be able to plead ignorance, so it will be credited, if my character is known, that this blockade will be attended to with a degree of rigour unexampled in the present war.'

Early in the morning of the 8th of July, Commodore Nelson then close off the Melora, received a letter from the Viceroy of Corsica, with whom he had orders to cooperate in all respects, respecting his intention to possess Porto Ferrajo; upon which the Commodore instantly dispatched the Meleager with the above letter to Genoa, and directed Captain Cockburn to remain forty-eight hours in that port, in order to receive whatever information could be collected; whilst he himself proceeded with the Petterell sloop, off Porto Ferrajo. During the night he sent in a boat to see whether the French or English had possession of the place, and found the Southampton lying there: in the morning, the convoy hove in sight, and the Inconstant, Captain Freemantle, was seen working up to join him.

Sir Gilbert Elliot, in his letter to the Governor of Porto Ferrajo, dated Bastia, July 6,

gave him the following reasons for the measures which the insidious conduct of the French had induced the Viceroy to adopt. 'Sir: The French troops have taken possession of the city of Leghorn; the cannon of the fortresses have been directed against the ships of the King in the road, and the property of his Majesty's subjects at Leghorn has been violated, notwithstanding the neutrality of his R. H. the Grand Duke of Tuscany, and the reiterated protestations of the French to respect it. There is likewise reason to believe, that the French have the same intentions upon the fortress of Porto Ferrajo, hoping by such means to facilitate the designs which they meditate against the kingdom of Corsica. These circumstances have determined us to prevent the plans of the enemies of the King, which are equally hostile to the Grand Duke, by placing at Porto Ferrajo a garrison capable of defending that place; our only intention being to prevent that fortress, and the whole island of Elba, from falling into the hands of the French. We invite and request you, Sir, to receive the troops of his Majesty which will appear before the place, under the following conditions:'— According to these, Porto Ferrajo and its dependencies were to remain under the government of the Grand Duke; and in the most solemn manner a promise was made, that the troops should retire, and the place be restored, at the peace.

This naval station, the chief port of the island of Elba, was by nature very strong, and the citadel nearly impregnable. It has a fine mole for vessels of a small draught, and a commodious bay for large ships, where they may obtain an abundance of good water. Captain Stuart of the Petterell, and Lieutenant Gourly of the Vanneau, had nobly volunteered their services to the Commodore, to go in with a detachment of the troops on board their two vessels, and having beat down the sea-gate, to force their way into the town. But though Nelson admired their spirit, he thought the enterprize too hazardous to be attempted. The troops having been all landed, advanced within musket shot of the citadel; and the Commodore, in his letter to Admiral Sir John Jervis, dated Captain, Porto Ferrajo, July 10, 1796, detailed the proceedings of the squadron, and of the troops under his orders, in taking possession of that place. 'Sir: I have the pleasure to inform you, that the troops under the command of Major Duncan took possession of the forts, and town of Porto Ferrajo, this day at ten o'clock. On my joining the convoy from Bastia yesterday forenoon, Major Duncan having done me the favour to come on board, we concerted on the most proper methods for speedily executing the instructions which the Viceroy had given him. The troops were landed last night about a mile to the westward of the town, under the direction of Captain Stuart of the Peterell; and the Major immediately marched close to the gate on the western side, and at five o'clock this morning sent in to the Governor the Viceroy's letter, containing the terms which would be granted to the town, and gave him two hours for the answer. At half past five I came on shore,

when we received a message from the Governor, desiring one hour more to consult with the principal inhabitants. We took this opportunity to assure those who were Tuscans, that they should receive no injury whatever in their persons or property.

'Having ordered the ships and vessels[d] into the harbour, to their several stations before appointed, the Major and myself determined, should the terms offered be rejected, to instantly open the fire of the ships, and to storm the place, on every point from the land and sea. The harmony and good understanding between the Army and Navy employed on this occasion, will I trust be a further proof of what may be effected by the hearty cooperation of the two services.

I cannot conclude without expressing my fullest approbation of the zeal and good conduct of every Captain, officer, and man in the squadron; and also, that during the time I was necessarily employed on shore, my first lieutenant Edward Berry commanded the ship, and placed her opposite the grand bastion, within half pistol shot; and in such a manner as could not have failed, had we opened our fire, to produce the greatest effect. The place is mounted with one hundred pieces of cannon, and garrisoned by 400 regulars, besides militia.'

On the 11th of July, 1796, the Commodore wrote to the Hon. W. F. Wyndham, his Majesty's Minister at Florence; and after mentioning their success, and that the measure had been judged expedient in order to prevent the French from possessing the place, he added, 'Except guarding the fortifications, all is left as before; and the Governor sends off a letter for the Grand Duke to-morrow morning, and of course will send copies of the Viceroy's letter to him, and also of all the letters and declarations which have passed between him, Major Duncan, and myself. You may believe, Sir, that the utmost attention will be paid to the declarations; and, I trust, that the Tuscan subjects will feel that protection from the assistance of his Majesty's forces by sea and land, which will give an increase to their happiness. The inhabitants seem sensible of the great difference between their situation, and that of the unfortunate Leghornese: happy indeed shall I be, to see the necessity of our withdrawing our troops, when the enemies of all Italy shall be driven out of it, and the dominions of his Royal Highness restored to the tranquillity, that was experienced before the flagrant breach of faith in the French.'

Commodore Nelson to his Excellency Sir Gilbert Elliot, dated off Leghorn, July 15, 1796.

'Dear Sir: I send the Meleager, that Captain Cockburn may tell you all the news

[d] *Ships Names.*

Captain .... 74 guns.
Inconstant .. 36, Captain Freemantle.
Flora ..... 36, Captain Middleton.
Southampton 32, Captain M'Namara.
Peterell, 16 guns, Captain Stuart.
Vanneau Brig, .. Lieutenant Gourly.
Rose Cutter, ... Lieutenant Walker.

from Genoa, and also give you Mr. Trevor's, Mr. Brame's, and every paper I have received, which you will be so good as to forward to the Admiral. On the subject of Mons. Fairpoult's note, I wish very much for your advice; we feel the loss of having no Minister at Genoa, our Consul has no power either to answer the notes of the Genoese Secretary of State, or to refute the infamous lies which are fabricated by the French Minister to irritate the Genoese against us. It is certainly notorious that we endeavour to stop all intercourse between Genoa and France; and as the French Minister lays great stress, and at the same time gives out publicly, that the English detain all vessels belonging to the Genoese, to whatever place they may be bound; the Genoese government, through the influence, or rather the fear of the French, has made several most frivolous complaints on the breach of neutrality in the western Riviera. I have answered all these notes, and I hope they will reach Mr. Drake. I also sent duplicates, which I requested you to forward when I was last at San Fiorenzo; but, in the mean time, the Genoese get no answer whatever. This they must feel, and the French are making the most of it. I mean to go to Genoa as soon as Cockburn returns to me; and I will visit the Doge, and tell him that I have received the various notes sent to Mr. Brame, and have answered them all: that the facts are either totally false, or so much mistated, that they bear not the smallest resemblance to truth; that I have declared to Mr. Drake, while the French are in possession of the western Riviera of Genoa, and act hostilely against his Britannic Majesty's ships, that I must consider it as the coast of the enemy; but so far from wishing to act with the smallest degree of harshness against the Genoese, that neither my orders, nor my inclination, would allow me to do it. The Doge will naturally put a question, *Why we stop vessels laden with merchandise bound to France?* and he will of course desire to have what I reply, in writing. Do you think, Sir, I had better take no manner of notice of what is going on, and let these assertions of the French be unrefuted, since the Genoese commerce is suspended; and defer my visit to the Doge for a future day? Pray, Sir, give me your advice, my Admiral is at a distance, and I well know the delicacy of intermeddling with diplomatic functions.

'The blockade of Leghorn is as complete as is possible: pray God, the successes of the Austrians may be such as to make the Tuscans rise on the French, and open the Mole-gate to me; when I would most assuredly assist them by landing myself.'

In a letter of the same date to his Admiral, he added, 'I may congratulate you, dear Sir, on the soreness which the French feel for your strict blockade of the port of Toulon; we have fairly got to be masters from one end of the coast to the other. I wish government had given you full orders about stopping corn and merchandise going to France; it is on this point the French Minister lays his stress. I intend going to Genoa, as soon as Meleager returns, and I have written to the Viceroy for his advice. As to any breach of

the rights of nations, the French have the whole coast fortified, and have made a breach of all honour and faith by their cruel invasion of Tuscany. General Wurmser, you will see, commands the army; they have beat the French near Mantua, and not less than 13,000 have been killed or taken. On the Rhine, and with the Prince of Conde's army, where is Louis XVIII, all is victorious; not less than 40,000 French have been destroyed, their army is annihilated: Jourdan writes, he cannot stop without reinforcements until he gets to the gates of Paris. The Prince Charles has behaved with great resolution and conduct, and gained immortal honour; he was every where.

'Four P. M. I am just anchored in Leghorn roads, and have had a fishing boat on board; all is quiet here. Yesterday the tree of liberty was planted in great form, and the goddess of liberty was carried in grand procession: 2500 troops are in the place.'

Mr. Drake, in writing to the Commodore respecting the proceedings of Buonaparte, had expressed a wish that the islands of Elba and Capraja were secured: 'Buonaparte, in marching to the southward of the Po, has done exactly what we wished; for if he had attacked Mantua immediately after Beaulieu's retreat from Peschiera, that fortress must in all probability have fallen, and the French would have gained a permanent footing in Lombardy; but happily a desire of plunder drew him towards the Roman and Tuscan territories, and Mantua has escaped. Wurmser, the new Commander in Chief, arrived on the 4th of July, accompanied by Lauer, Juordanowick, Davilovick, and many other brave and experienced officers. A column of Austrians under General Hohenzollern has already reached Bassano. The peasants and inhabitants in general of every country where the French have passed, are exasperated against them in the highest degree. Would it be possible for Sir John Jervis to take possession of Port Especia and its fortresses? Such a measure, if it be practicable, would be extremely advantageous. I fear the French will in a few days have the island of Elba, as well as that of Capraja.'

Commodore Nelson to Sir John Jervis, dated Leghorn Roads, July 18, 1796.

'Dear Sir: I hope his Holiness the Pope may yet wage war against the French. I have never heard that he has been in actual hostility against them. The blockade of Leghorn is complete, not a vessel can go in or come out without my permission. Yesterday a Dane came out laden with oil and wine for Genoa: I told him he must return, or I should send him to Corsica. His answer was, 'I am a Neutral, and you may take me, but I will not return.' I therefore took possession, and intended giving him to a Corsican privateer; when, in about two hours, he begged I would allow him to return. On this I sent him back with a letter to the Danish Consul, whence the following is an extract: 'Respect for the Danish flag, and humanity to the owners of this vessel, impel me to return her into their possession, and not proceed to those extremities which the laws of nations allow in case of a declared blockaded port.' This I am satisfied was a trial of what I intended; for he

said, all the neutrals were determined to come out. If we are firm, the Grand Duke will sorely repent his admission of the French: his repeated proclamations for the people to be quiet, have given time to the French to lay powder under all the works; and, in case of any disturbance, they say, *up shall go the works.* Cannon are pointed from the wall to every street, and all the cannon and mortars are mounted; the famous long brass gun is on the mole head, and also a mortar. The Grand Duke declares he yet hopes the Directory will order Buonaparte to leave Leghorn, but I believe the French now wish to get into fortified towns, to prolong the campaign.

'The Captain has her wants, but I intend she shall last until the autumn; for I know when once we begin, our wants are innumerable. I hope the Admiralty will send out fresh ships. The French are fitting out here from four to six tartans, with thirty-six pounders, to drive me out of the roads; but I am prepared against fire vessels, and all other plans, as well as I am able. The tartans, it is said, will be out to-night: two thousand French are arrived, and more are expected. I have only now to beg, that whenever you think the enemy will face you on the water, that you will send for me; for my heart would break to be absent at such a glorious time.'

Commodore Nelson to H. R. H. the Duke of Clarence, dated Captain, Leghorn Roads, under sail for Genoa, July 20, 1796.

'Sir: I was this morning honoured with your Royal Highness's letter of May 30th, and it gives me real satisfaction to be assured of the continuance of your good opinion. Indeed I can say with truth, that no one whom you may have been pleased to honour with your notice, has a more sincere attachment for you than myself. It has pleased God this war, not only to give me frequent opportunities of shewing myself an Officer worthy of trust, but also to prosper all my undertakings in the highest degree. I have had the extreme good fortune, not only to be noticed in my immediate line of duty, but also to obtain the repeated approbation of his Majesty's Ministers at Turin, Genoa, and Naples, at well as of the Viceroy of Corsica, for my conduct in the various opinions I have been called upon to give, and my judgment being formed from common sense, I have never yet been mistaken.

'You will hear of our taking possession of Porto Ferrajo; if we had not, to a certainty the French would, and then they would have been too near Corsica, where I fear we have an ungrateful set of people, and one party acknowledged friends to the French, which, although greatly outnumbered by our friends, constantly makes disturbances. The armistice of the Pope, and King of Naples, will I believe come to nothing; it was only done to gain time, and they will be guided by the success or defeat of the Austrians. The King of Naples is firm, he has been by far the most faithful ally of England: He is at the head of 80,000 men at Velletri, only two posts from Rome; where the people are ripe for a revolt, and

already declare that the busts, statues, and manuscripts, shall not go out of Rome. The French possessing themselves of Leghorn, so contrary to the repeated pledges of the Directory, will afford such an opportunity for all the Italian States to break with them again, that perhaps they may be induced to give it up: the King of Naples, if they refuse, would march to attack it, and we are sure of the lower order at Leghorn. The garrison is reinforced to 5000 men, and provisions are getting into the citadel: the French General has told the inhabitants, that if they are not quiet, he would blow all the works up round the town, and which in fact would blow half the town up: the mines are laid; large vessels are also fitting with forty-two pounders, and furnaces, to annoy me; but I am prepared, as much as possible, against whatever may happen.

'*Genoa, July* 23. I arrived here yesterday, and rejoice to hear that Marshal Wurmser has commenced offensive operations: I have no doubt but the French will retire to Piedmont as fast as they advanced from it; and I fear they may force the King of Sardinia into an alliance against us. To-morrow I return to Leghorn.'

In a letter to Sir John Jervis, July 27th, Nelson mentioned the cautions which he had given to the trade: 'I have recommended to the merchants at Genoa, whenever they are alarmed, to ship their goods in time on board such neutral vessels as they may find in the port; for that it would be impossible, however much you might be inclined, to send transports to receive their effects, which in Heath's house amount to 160,000*l.* sterling. Things are fast approaching to a crisis, and will probably be determined before you receive this.'

The high opinion which Sir John Jervis entertained of the abilities of Sir Gilbert Elliot reflects additional honour on that distinguished statesman: 'There is great wisdom and sound judgment,' said the Admiral, July 31, in writing to Nelson, 'in every line of the Viceroy's letter; act up to it, and you cannot err. We have no business with Vado, or Port Especia, until the Austrians enter Piedmont. ———, on his death-bed, would take money from Swede, Dane, or Devil. I wish you would send the Petterel to Trieste, to reinforce Miller, and recommend to Colonel Graham that the Austrian flotilla should be put under Captain Miller's orders. Go on, and prosper.'

The cordiality which prevailed amongst all those who at this time held high situations in the Mediterranean, is a proof that the interests of the nation had been intrusted to men of great and liberal minds, who wanted no additional impulse or fresh instructions from the cabinet, to regulate their conduct. 'I was unacquainted,' says Sir J. Jervis, in writing to Mr. Wyndham,[e] 'with the enterprise against Porto Ferrajo, until it came into our pos-

[e] Amidst those Ministers in the Mediterranean, whose sound integrity and loyalty were in 1796 opposed to the craft and democratic subtilty of the French, the Hon. William Wyndham particularly deserves notice, as being related to that celebrated Royalist, Sir Thomas Wyndham, who is mentioned with so much honour by Hume. 'A few days before his death, in 1636, Sir T. Wyndham called to him his five sons: 'My children,' said he, 'we have hitherto seen serene and quiet times under our three last Sovereigns: but I must now warn you

session, having given orders to Commodore Nelson to cooperate in all respects with the Viceroy.' The confidence which the Commander in Chief, the Viceroy, and the Commodore, uniformly possessed in each other, appears in all their operations; the only object they appeared to covet, was honour, and that praise which is worth ambition; 'I experience, Sir,' said Nelson, in writing to Sir J. Jervis, August 1, 'the highest degree of pleasure which an officer is capable of feeling, the full approbation of his Commander in Chief; which must not be a little increased by knowing that his Commander is such a character as Sir John Jervis, without disparagement, or flattery, allowed to be one of the first in the service.

'All goes well here, nothing gets in or comes out, except a privateer which our boats cannot come up with; yet I do not say, but that in a westerly gale vessels may get in, notwithstanding all our endeavours: I will, however, answer for my exertions to prevent them; rowing vessels are the most useful against the French privateers. The lower orders at Leghorn are miserable, several have been on board, wishing to serve for provisions: they have a plan for rising, but the Grand Duke almost every day tells them the French will go away, and therefore orders them to be quiet.

'*August 2d.* Before any more letters arrive, I must give you the trouble of reading some omissions which I have made in my former ones. Respecting the Corsican privateers, my answer was on a supposition that two of the privateers would give up every other consideration, and absolutely put themselves under my orders: in that case, and in that case only, did I mean to alter the established rule for sharing. However not one has obeyed, or put himself under my orders; it has been an age since I have seen any of them. I had last night a great deal of conversation with an old fisherman: he says, 300 light cavalry, Tuscans, are coming into Leghorn, that forage for cavalry is providing about three miles from Pisa, and that the people of Leghorn will not be put off any longer than the 10th or 15th: The French must go.—I have made up my mind, that when Marshal Wurmser forces the French, and especially if the King of Naples comes forward, that the Grand Duke will order a number of troops into Leghorn, and say to the French, 'We choose to keep our own town:' when the French would go quietly off. These people represent them as a miserable set of boys, without clothes, or shoes; so the commissaries must have done well for themselves: all the best men are gone to the army. The day before yesterday, Vice Consul Udney's things were all returned into his house: the French are grown very civil to the inhabitants, who, on the contrary, grow more impertinent. The other day they drove the guard from Pisa gate with sticks; and told them they should not stay beyond the 10th: a revolt against the Ministry of the Grand Duke would be the

to prepare for clouds and storms. Factions arise on every side, and threaten the tranquillity of your native Country. *But whatever happens, do you faithfully honour and obey your Prince, and adhere to the Crown though it should hang on a bush.*'

consequence of their stay. That said Major de Place, who came on board the Victory to pay his respects to you, is the governor appointed by the French, and who will certainly lose his head if there is an insurrection: they call him traitor. I have sent to Mr. Wyndham to know if the Grand Duke means to make good the losses of the English; for till I receive his official letter, desiring me to take off the blockade, I shall not feel at liberty so to do; unless the entire property, or the value of it, is restored, or until I receive directions from you. No property has been sold, for there are no buyers; it may be made over, but that certainly will not do. I shall in this event permit light vessels to pass, but not a cargo on any account; for the Grand Duke may say, in that vessel went the English property, and she was permitted by the English officer: you will think I am beforehand, but a regular plan can never do harm; and then, when the event takes place, and take place it soon will, I have not this part to think of.

'Almost all Tuscany is in motion: the whole of this day they have told the French, *You shall go away, we will not be starved for you.* The French are sending many things out of the town, but the generality of English goods are safe: they have been repeatedly put up for sale, but none would buy.

'*August 3d.* The Leghornese have given notice to the French, that they shall not make their grand fête on August 10th, by which time their new clothes are to be ready. All work, such as repairing gun-carriages, &c. is left off. I have no doubt but by the 15th we shall have Leghorn, and then I look forward to our settling with the Pope. The appearance of a squadron off Civita Vecchia, and respectful yet firm language, will, I have no doubt, induce his Holiness to open his ports as usual.'

The following letter that had been sent to Mrs. Nelson on the 2d of August, displays those features of the zealous and sanguine mind of the Commodore, which must in vain be sought for in any other communication: 'Had all my actions, my dearest Fanny, been gazetted, not one fortnight would have passed during the whole war without a letter from me: one day or other I will have a long gazette to myself; I feel that such an opportunity will be given me. I cannot, if I am in the field for glory, be kept out of sight. Probably my services may be forgotten by the great, by the time I get home; but my mind will not forget, nor cease to feel a degree of consolation, and of applause, superior to undeserved rewards. Wherever there is any thing to be done, there Providence is sure to direct my steps. Credit must be given me in spite of envy. Even the French respect me: their Minister at Genoa, in answering a note of mine, when returning some wearing apparel that had been taken, said, 'Your Nation, Sir, and mine, are made to shew examples of generosity, as well as of valour, to all the people of the earth.' The following is a copy of the note[f] I had sent him: 'Generous Nations, Sir, are above rendering any other

[f] Dated Genoa Mole, June 22, 1796.

damage to individuals, than such as the known laws of war prescribe. In a vessel lately taken by my squadron was found an imperial full of clothes, belonging to a general officer of artillery, I therefore send you the clothes as taken, and some papers which may be useful to the officer, and have to request you will have the goodness to forward them to him.'—I will also relate another anecdote, all vanity to myself, but you will partake of it: A person sent me a letter, and directed as follows, *Horatio Nelson, Genoa.* On being asked how he could direct in such a manner, his answer in a large party was, 'Sir, there is but one Horatio Nelson in the world.' The letter certainly came immediately. At Genoa, where I have stopped all their trade, I am beloved and respected both by the senate and lower order. If any man is fearful of his vessel being stopped, he comes and asks me; if I give him a paper, or say, 'All is right,' he is contented. I am known throughout Italy; not a kingdom, or state, where my name will be forgotten.[g] This is my gazette.

'Lord Spencer has expressed his sincere desire to Sir John Jervis, to give me my flag. You ask me, when I shall come home? I believe when either an honourable peace is made, or a Spanish war which may draw our fleet out of the Mediterranean. God knows I shall come to you not a sixpence richer than when I set out. I had a letter a few days since from H. R. H. the Duke of Clarence, assuring me of his unalterable friendship. With kindest love to my Father, believe me your most affectionate husband.'

The Rev. Edmund Nelson to his Son Horatio, dated July 4, 1796.

'Your affectionate letter in August, my dear Horatio, is arrived, which brings me fresh assurances, if such were wanting, that neither time, nor distance, nor multiplicity of business, can change or shake those principles of filial affection, which, from a very early period, have indicated a mind guided by true morality and evangelical religion; and those principles will be your support throughout the period of your life. You are rendering to the public every claim it can demand from your professional station: *all* your time, your talents, and abilities, are exerted in its service; and though success does not always crown our best endeavours, yet it is a proof of sound judgment, when, in a series of events, success shews itself to have arisen from plans of operation founded on professional knowledge, and depth of thought. The advantages of an active life are so many, that no one of com-

[g] The Swedish Minister at Genoa, M. de Lagersverd, in writing to the Commodore, respecting a Swedish vessel which had been captured by a French privateer, close to Genoa, under pretext of its having sailed from the port of London, said, 'Par l'obligeante lettre qu'il vous a plu de m'addresser, Monsieur, je reçois agréablement la confirmation de ce que la voix publique s'accorde à prononcer au sujet de votre caractere et de votre loyauté. Je me rejouis d'en faire l'experience par moi même; et d'apres votre maniere d'agir, je suis persuadè que j'aurai la satisfaction de faire connôitre en Suède vôtre nom, comme celui d'une personne à laquelle nous avons des obligations; et ce qui plus est, comme celui, qui au milieu de horreurs de la guerre, fait de nobles efforts pour les diminuer; et qui reunit en même tems le zèle pour le service de son maitre, avec l'amour de la justice, et le désir de ne pas faire des victimes innocentes. Genèo, 4 d'Aout, 1796.'

mon understanding ever hesitated in preferring what is likely to be useful, both to himself, and to society. You, my dear son, have chosen the good part, and it will meet its reward, though not perhaps in the way which our ignorance of future events would make choice of: therefore look forward to happy days, when the storm shall cease. The various compliments of your superiors are doubled in their value, when there is a self-consciousness of their propriety; and as it has pleased God to give you abilities to act, so I trust your own exertions in using those powers will be approved of, and receive a blessing from an all-wise and gracious benefactor: O may He continue to preserve, direct, and assist all your endeavours in doing what is right. Weigh in your own scale of sound judgment all things which you can best understand, and from causes discern effects. God bless, preserve, and prosper you. Edmund Nelson.'

The following note to the Marquis de Silva at Naples, dated August 3, 1796, is connected with what the Commodore mentioned in his preceding letter to Sir John Jervis. 'Sir: I am only this moment honoured with your letter of July 16th, requesting my permission for the departure of some Neapolitan vessels without cargoes. The honour and stedfast faith of his Sicilian Majesty in the good cause which all people ought to have espoused, make the situation of Neapolitan vessels very different from those of any other nation: I feel that I shall fulfil the wishes of my Sovereign, and of my Admiral, in permitting the departure of Neapolitan vessels without cargoes. Therefore, if you will order the vessels to come to me, I will furnish them with proper passports to prevent their being molested.'

Commodore Nelson to Admiral Sir John Jervis, dated Leghorn Roads, August 5, 1796.

'Dear Sir: If I write too much, say so, and I will hold my pen: for myself, I feel a comfort in knowing every thing on which each vessel of my squadron is employed; and as but few of my letters require answers, I hope you do not think it gives you too much trouble to read them, occupied as I know you are with greater concerns. I would not stop the Comet one moment, as I was anxious she should find Petterell at Bastia. As to stores, she is just come from Ajaccio, but was absolutely refused those supplies which she stood in need of. If a ship goes into an arsenal, she not only ought to have her damages made good, but her wants should also be supplied according to the discretion of the proper officers: the Petterell was sent shamefully away, and Mr. James was treated, from his account, with a most unwarrantable incivility. Do these naval Civilians, of all descriptions, mean to separate themselves from our authority? if they be not punishable by martial law, other punishments, although more slow, will, I trust, assuredly fall upon them. I mean not this as a public complaint, for I would not have every Captain take what stores he pleases, but at the same time the fair wants of a vessel, whatever is the rank of her commander, ought to be supplied, and the officer treated with civility. You well know,

Sir, what to do, to settle both sides of the question, therefore I shall say no more; the Petterell's sails are rags, and none have been supplied her.'

In writing to Sir Gilbert Elliot, on the same day, he added, 'Leghorn was from all accounts last night in such a state, that a respectable force landed would, I have every reason to suppose, insure the immediate possession of the town. I know many things must be considered: not less than 1000 troops should be sent, to which I would add every soldier in my squadron and a party of seamen to make a shew. Pray consider this in every way, as private, and excuse my opinions. You will examine, Sir, all these points, and form a much better judgment than I can; only give me credit, that the first wish of my heart is to serve my King and Country at every personal risk and consideration. It has ever pleased God to prosper all my undertakings, and I feel confident of his blessing on this occasion. I always think of my motto—*Fide et Opera.*'

Sir John Jervis differed in some measure from the sanguine mind of the Commodore, respecting the feasibility of an immediate attack on Leghorn; and in writing to Sir Gilbert Elliot, from off Toulon, August 6, 1796, said, 'I am clearly of an opinion that no attempt should be made upon Leghorn, until General Wurmser gets complete possession of Lombardy, or that we have a moral certainty of his so doing; otherwise we may be driven out of it again, and in such an event it is on the cards, that these Devils would raze the town, and destroy the mole: at the same time it is undoubtedly an object to keep in the mind's eye, and the promptitude of Commodore Nelson you are always sure of. I am not for weakening the garrison of Porto Ferrajo, ever having in contemplation treachery, stiletto, and poison.'

The Commodore, when noticing the merited encomiums which the Admiral had paid to the wisdom and judgment of Sir G. Elliot, subjoins, 'I know, dear Sir, the Viceroy's worth and wisdom, and you will, as he does, give me credit for having only one point in view, to serve my King and Country faithfully; and as both you and him have the same consideration, I shall not, as far my abilities will allow me, think very differently from either. You are ever adding, Sir, to my obligations, and I can only endeavour to repay you by the way most agreeable to yourself, a most assiduous attention to my duty.

'I have given permission to some Neapolitan vessels to leave the mole for Naples, but without cargoes. The worth and good faith of the King of Naples demand of us every thing we can grant, and it was a real pleasure for me to find, the day after I had granted the permission, that the Viceroy had written a very similar letter to the Marquis de Silva. I have also permitted, by desire of Mr. North, some goods to pass, and the American tribute to the Dey of Algiers. A Venetian vessel is to come here, and load under my guns. The Dey's lord of the bedchamber, or some such great man, has been on board my ship: he was highly pleased with my entertainment of him, and declared he would

supply us with bullocks of 600 *lbs.* each, for ten Spanish dollars; he was never tired of looking about him. I must relate an anecdote: I asked him, why he would not make peace with the Genoese and Neapolitans, for they would pay the Dey? his answer was, *If we make peace with every one, what is the Dey to do with his ships?* What a reason for carrying on a naval war; but has our Minister a better one for the present? I have sent great news to Bastia; but (I wish the word was out of our language) I am not fully contented: We beat the enemy on the 29th, 30th, 31st, 1st, and 2d; and because I do not know whether we beat them on the 3d, I am not satisfied; such is human nature. Guns are sounding from the ramparts, and I am wicked enough to wish that all these fellows throats may be cut before night. *August* 11*th.* Yesterday the French had their fête, but they seemed fearful of a riot; by proclamation all Tuscans were ordered to remain in their houses, and every possible precaution taken. The French say they have no orders from their government to quit Leghorn; therefore they shall remain.'

On the 15th of August, Nelson received an order which established him Commodore with a Captain under him; and on the same day, when at sea, informed the Admiral, that he was going to Bastia to consult with the Viceroy on the subject of the Leghorn expedition. On his arrival there the next day, he appears equally sanguine respecting the project they had in view, and the successful event of a Spanish war: 'All will be well I am satisfied in our Leghorn expedition, provided Wurmser is victorious; upon this ground only have I adopted the measure. We are impatient for the battle of the 3d; there are reports at Florence that the Austrians are checked; but no account of this had been published by the French at Leghorn on the 14th. All the heavy stores are shipping here, and at St. Fiorenzo, and twenty-four hours, when the opportunity offers, will be sufficient. I hope we shall have settled Leghorn before the Dons, if they intend it, arrive. I have still my doubts as to a Spanish war, and if there should be one, with your management I have no fears. Their fleet is ill manned and worse officered, I believe, and they are slow. Lord Bute's letter paves the way very clearly for your line of acting: Ministers seldom commit themselves in an opinion. Should the Dons come, I shall then hope I may be spared, in my own person, to help to make you at least a Viscount.'

August 17, *Bastia, in continuation.* 'It is possible that the Spanish frigate bound to Civita Vecchia, may be intended to carry money from his Holiness, with the famous Apollo, &c. &c. for the French. It is allowable to seize the property of enemies, even on board neutral ships of war. Mr. North tells me, that in the late war two or three Danish ships of war were seized by the Spaniards carrying stores to Gibraltar; and on the remonstrance of the Danish Minister at Madrid, the answer he received was, That it was not men of war which were stopped, but vessels which had made themselves merchantmen for the time. This hint may be useful: the times are critical.'

Commodore Nelson to H. R. H. the Duke of Clarence, dated August 19, 1796.

'Sir: In the present situation of affairs I will not let slip an opportunity of writing to your Royal Highness. The check which the Austrians have met with in Italy on the 3d, 4th, and 5th, must give another unfavourable turn to the affairs of our Allies. The French have made the most of it, and they were no doubt masters of the field of battle. I wish to say more than I dare to trust to the post, of the object of an expedition that was to have taken place the moment Wurmser became victorious, in which I was to have been a principal actor.—Our affairs in Corsica are gloomy; there is a very strong republican party in that island, and they are well supported from France; the first favourable moment they will certainly act against us. The French are endeavouring to get over from the continent twenty and thirty men at a time, and they will accomplish it in spite of all we can do. Gentili, a Corsican, who commanded in Bastia when we took it, is arrived at Leghorn, to command in Corsica. Twenty field pieces have been sent from here, and are landed near Ajaccio.

'As to our fleet, under such a Commander in Chief as Sir John Jervis, nobody has any fears . . . . We are now twenty-two sail of the line; the combined fleet will not be more than thirty-five sail of the line, supposing the Dons detach to the West Indies. I will venture my life, Sir John Jervis defeats them; I do not mean by a regular battle, but by the skill of our Admiral, and the activity and spirit of our officers and seamen. This country is the most favourable possible for skill with an inferior fleet; for the winds are so variable, that some one time in twenty-four hours you must be able to attack a part of a large fleet, and the other will be becalmed, or have a contrary wind, therefore I hope government will not be alarmed for our safety, I mean more than is proper. I take for granted they will send us reinforcements as soon as possible; but there is nothing we are not able to accomplish under Sir John Jervis. I am stationed, as you know, to blockade Leghorn, and now Corsica may prevent my going to the fleet, which I feel very much, but all cannot be as we wish. I assure your Royal Highness that no small part of my pleasure in the acknowledgment of my services, has arisen from the conviction that I am one of those of whom from your early youth you have been pleased to have a good opinion; and I have to beg that your Royal Highness will ever believe me your most faithful Horatio Nelson.'

Sir William Hamilton during this month of August informed the Commodore, that his Excellency Sir William Acton had desired to return his Sicilian Majesty's sincere thanks for the act of friendship that had been shewn him, in favour of the Neapolitan vessels. 'Naples,' added Sir William, 'would never have made an armistice, if it could have been avoided; and be assured the Neapolitans will not make peace with the French, if they insist upon excluding the British ships from the ports of the two Sicilies.

You were a witness to the first spirit shewn at Naples, it is not less conspicuous at present, and I only hope that the French will not grant the peace which Naples demands, that is, upon equal terms and without any concessions whatever on the part of Naples. We go on arming with vigour. Adieu, my dear Sir; Lady Hamilton and myself often speak of you, and admire your zeal that is indefatigable: God send it may be crowned with all success.'

Throughout the operations of the Commander in Chief, and the squadron which he had detached under the Commodore, 'that dignified humanity and moderation are visible, which formed a striking contrast to the cruelty and oppression of the French. In writing to the Swedish Consul, August 20, 1796, Nelson assured him, That the Commander in Chief of his Majesty's fleet in the Mediterranean, wishing to alleviate the calamities which the French, by their possessing themselves of the neutral port of Leghorn, had brought on the Swedish nation, had, in consideration of the near approach of winter, when the Baltic sea would be frozen over, authorised him to permit the departure of Swedish vessels without cargoes: You will therefore,' added the Commodore, ' direct such Swedish vessels as may wish to quit the port of Leghorn, to come out of the mole, and anchor near me, when I will furnish them with passports to prevent their being molested on their voyage.'—It was thus that the flag of England not only repelled the insolence of its calumniating enemies, but supported the commerce and the rights of other nations.

On the same day, August 20th, the Commodore wrote as follows to the Admiral from Leghorn roads. ' We are anxious indeed to receive news. All our expected hopes are blasted, I fear, for the present by Wurmser's feeling too sure. Austria, I suppose, must make peace, and we shall, as usual, be left to fight it out: however at the worst we only give up Corsica, an acquisition which I believe we cannot keep, and our fleet will draw down the Mediterranean. The Dons will pay most severely if they are fools enough to involve themselves in a war. The way to Corsica is to be through the island of Capraja. Should Genoa shut her port against us, I shall presume to advise the Viceroy instantly to seize Capraja, where he will find all the arms, &c. for Corsica, and probably French troops. I send you a letter of Mr. Drake's, not very favourable for a successful campaign.'

August 22, in continuation. ' On Thursday last 1225 French left Leghorn with General Vaubois, and almost all the officers; the French Major de Place commands the remainder, which is not more than eight or nine hundred men, that is the utmost. Seventy or eighty sailors are gone with the army, to manage, as they say, some flat-bottomed boats that are prepared for crossing the inundations about Mantua, which place they are determined to storm. Another very extraordinary thing has taken place here: all the cannon that had been mounted on the works, except on the mole, has been dismounted, and put into the same stores whence it was taken. What does this mean? an evacuation I should

rather think; yes, and that they are ordered to replace things as they found them. Mr. Wyndham, my reports say, is gone to Rome, and thence to the King of Naples to endeavour to induce his Majesty to recommence hostilities. Lively is sent to examine the coast to the southward, to see if any number of boats are collected to carry over troops to Corsica: Lord Garlies is active, and I feel a real pleasure in having him with me, I only hope for an opportunity of giving him some real service.—*August* 23. I again hope that the defeat of the French is at hand, they are surrounded at Verona. The Austrians on the 15th got a reinforcement of 20,000 men. Buonaparte is reported to have been wounded.'

The character of the English Nation, and of the Commodore, is delineated in the letter which he sent to De Lavilette, Governor of Leghorn, dated Leghorn roads, Aug. 22, 1796. 'Your Excellency, from the great length of time you have been at Leghorn, well knows that it is the pride of the English to relieve and alleviate the misfortunes even of their enemies; much more then would it be a pleasure to England to assist the Tuscans in their distress, from the breach of faith of the French, and their most extraordinary conduct towards a neutral state: I therefore had given passports to every fisherman to go out as usual with their tartans, and it is with astonishment I find that these poor fishermen, who are obliged to come on board my Sovereign's ship to obtain that permission, which not only maintains a number of poor Tuscan families, but also supplies the town of Leghorn with fish; are by your Excellency as president of the health office, subjected to a quarantine of ten days, although I have given my word of honour, which until now was never doubted, that I am with my squadron *in libera practica*. I must desire, Sir, that you will represent my liberal conduct, contrasted with yours, to His Royal Highness your Sovereign. You must have noticed my long forbearance, in not having repelled the firing of the batteries against his Britannic Majesty's ships; you must have known that it has been humanity, and not want of power, towards a town and its innocent inhabitants belonging to your Sovereign, whose situation I have pitied: but now, as the enemy have withdrawn such numbers of their troops, and the Tuscan soldiers being so superior to the French, I beg leave to acquaint you, that if in future one shot is fired at his Britannic Majesty's ships, I shall chastise the battery; and whatever damage may happen to the town, your Sovereign and the inhabitants of Leghorn must lay the entire blame on his Excellency Jaques De Lavilette, and not on your Excellency's most obedient servant Horatio Nelson.'

The Governor in reply, after informing the Commodore that he had received a copy of his letter, the original being left in the hands of the Commandant of the French troops, gave as his excuse towards the fishermen, that the Commodore had not made the public declaration respecting his squadron, which the regulations of the office of health required;

and that with respect to the second part of his letter, he had been misinformed, for the remaining force of the French in Leghorn was much superior to the Tuscan. 'Besides,' added the Governor, 'the batteries and all the forts are occupied by the French: I hope therefore, from your moderation, and the well known sentiments of generosity of his Britannic Majesty, that you will not place yourselves in such situations as to be annoyed by those batteries, and in consequence attempt to revenge yourselves; which would fall on this innocent and unhappy country.'

In a letter to Mrs. Nelson, dated Leghorn roads, August 23, the Commodore informed her, that as soon as affairs were settled with the Grand Duke, he should pay his Holiness the Pope a visit. 'I do not think,' added he, 'that he will oppose the thunder of the Vatican against my thunder; and you will I dare say hear, that I am at Rome in my barge. If I succeed, I am determined to row up the Tyber, and into Rome.'

During the month of September he received the following important intelligence, in different letters, from his Excellency the Hon. W. F. Wyndham at Florence. '*August* 29. Dear Sir: A treaty of offensive and defensive alliance between France and Spain was signed at Paris on the 5th of last month. The Spaniards mean to unite their fleets, and attack Sir John Jervis, and probably place a garrison in Leghorn, where they expect 2000 Corsicans picked from the French armies, and have various plans of attack on Corsica. Spain has intimated her intentions of going to war with Naples. The armistice with the Pope is broken. These are the outlines, the Viceroy will tell you more.'—'*August* 30. On the 9th twelve ships of the line and twenty-six frigates in Toulon, were ready for sailing, whenever our fleet should leave its station off that port. There is a requisition of sailors at Marseilles; but Aix, Avignon, Marseilles, and even Lyons, are again in insurrection, and a civil war has recommenced with vigour: the Directory has been forced on that account to suspend the promised reinforcement to Buonaparte. The Emperor demands peace on the same conditions he had before refused. Salicetti is gone to organise the new republic of Bologna and Ferrara, and then comes to Leghorn to direct the Corsican expedition. Some Corsicans will likewise probably be embarked at Especia, and even at Genoa. Another Corsican General, Galeazzini,[1] is come to Leghorn, having been at Especia. The French army in Italy is dying by hundreds of the dysentery, which rages most violently. It is expected that Wurmser will act soon, at least such is the opinion of Colonel Graham and Mr. Drake. Be assured of the certainty of my intelligence: many boats have gone out at night with Corsicans on board, and some will continue to go out nightly, chiefly from the lazaretto. Eighteen privateers are ready, and the troops, to 2000 at least, are forming for the expedition. *August* 31, *in continuation.* The French, assisted by the Spaniards, are certainly about to make a formidable attack

[1] This officer was made a prisoner at the close of the siege of Bastia. See page 167.

on Corsica. The Spanish fleet is coming out of Cadiz, if it is not out already. Above 2000 Corsicans will be at Leghorn in a few days: Generals Cervoni, Gentili, and Casalta are there, 300 Corsican soldiers are always quartered in the lazaretto, and every night small boats go from thence with from twelve to twenty-four men on board; they sail or row to Capraja, and thence proceed to Corsica. The Generals there, and the Spanish and French Ministers here, openly avow their determination; and convinced in their own minds of their success, they laugh at the blockade and Sir Gilbert's hopes of resistance: in this manner they have already got near 400 men to Corsica. They have fitted out, manned and armed eighteen privateers in Leghorn harbour, which are ready to sail during the night in company with some transports, or rather small boats, as soon as the whole of their forces arrive: 1500 came last night to Pistoria for Corsica, the greatest part Corsicans; they have ransacked their armies, and Italy, for Corsican refugees for this undertaking, and all the Corsican families that were at Genoa and Nice are ordered to repair to Leghorn. The garrison to-morrow or next day, will be 2600 strong: they come in by small parties, almost naked, and are armed and clothed on their arrival; more are coming from Bologna. If you can get small armed boats, you may stop them; or perhaps a *coup de main* on the lazaretto might be feasible. You may depend upon it the Spaniards will try to come to Leghorn; and whilst our fleets are engaged or seeking the united fleets, another will come here, and in concert with the French put a Spanish garrison into Leghorn.'

Commodore Nelson to Admiral Sir J. Jervis, K. B. dated Leghorn rouds, Sept. 3, 1796.

'I arrived yesterday, and now send you two copies of letters from Mr. Wyndham. Lord Garlies goes over to Bastia this day, to converse with the Viceroy, who, Captain Cockburn tells me, has apparently no fears for Corsica: his information, I must suppose, is good, and that he knows of every additional scoundrel who sets foot in the island. You will comment on the day when Mr. Wyndham says the treaty was signed, the very day Langara sailed from Cadiz; but the sudden return, and all Mr. Duff's letters, give us a large field for conversation, which may amuse your Vice Admirals, and drive away ennui. I have before told the Viceroy, how impossible it is for us to stop boats which row faster than our barges; but that whatever he proposes, I should most readily concur in for sending him every assistance. I enclose an official answer from the Grand Duke to my letter, which I forgot to shew you. Some parts a little border on impertinence, however it has made us laugh; and the King of England cannot, although I hear he is one of the best masons in his dominions, stop shot-holes half so soon as I can make them. I yet hope for a good and glorious campaign by sea and land, and I wish that Mr. Wyndham's fears may be realised, and that the Toulon fleet may come out; but I fear they will not.'

The correspondence of the Commander in Chief with some of the leading characters in the Mediterranean, and with the Government at home, occasionally illustrates the

various events which connect the proceedings of the Commodore with the operations of the fleet. On the 23d of August, 1796, in writing to the Viceroy, Sir John Jervis had touched on the utility of evacuating Corsica, and obtaining possession of Porto Ferrajo: ‘ I am free to say,’ observed the Admiral, ‘ that if the Corsicans do not manfully resist the machinations of the enemy, it would be very bad policy indeed to continue in possession of the ports longer than is absolutely necessary for our own convenience. Porto Ferrajo would be a very good transfer, equally *à portée* to Leghorn; and while the Austrians make any stand in Italy, I conclude it will be the determination of our Cabinet to bolster them up; for should the fleet be withdrawn, the French would be masters of the Adriatic, give the law to Naples, take possession of Sicily, and in short overthrow the whole system in Italy. I enclose the copy of a paper I gave in to Lord Spencer, at his request, in October, which was laid before the Cabinet.’—On the 28th of August Nelson had been informed by the Admiral, that the descent with which the western side of Corsica was threatened, had occasioned Captain Towry’s being placed at Ajaccio to fit out a flotilla, with the following force under his command, Dromedary, Tarleton, Poulette, Bellette, gun-boat, and yard launches: and on the 30th, when writing to Lord Bute, the Admiral had also added respecting Corsica, ‘ at Genoa, at Port Especia, and Leghorn, are numerous assemblages of Corsican emigrants in the interest of France, waiting to get over in feluccas, while their emissaries are intriguing with too much effect within the island. To frustrate the intended descent, I have ordered a flotilla to be equipped at Ajaccio, in the vicinity of which one of the debarkations is intended to be made; and another at Alteria, between Porto Vecchio and Bastia: this latter I must leave to Commodore Nelson and the Viceroy to watch, for the numerous objects I have to attend to have swallowed up all my means, which were not large.’ In a letter to General O‘Hara, dated August 30th, that vigilance and judgment are discerned which the Commander in Chief so eminently possessed: ‘ The French certainly do pursue their objects with steady perseverance, and all the powers in Europe, except Russia, will soon be instruments in their hands against us, for the Emperor must submit. The Portuguese will make no effort, unless British troops are sent to support them, which I expect to see, and my excellent friend, Sir Charles Grey, at the head of them. What do you think of a large embarkation at Brest for the Tagus, while we are looking to the defence of our own coasts? Captain Bowen, who is a child of my own, is selected to command the small naval force at Gibraltar; and you will find in him the most inexhaustible spirit of enterprise and skilful seamanship, that can be comprised in any human character.’

The dubious neutrality of the Genoese, apparent in the half measures which a fatal timidity and selfishness had induced them to adopt, gradually brought on an open rupture with the Commodore, notwithstanding his anxiety to prevent it. Towards the end

of August, 1796, Mr. Heatley, agent victualler to the Navy, had come to Genoa from Corsica, and given orders that one hundred bullocks should be purchased for the fleet. The oxen were accordingly procured, and vessels were chartered to carry them to St. Fiorenzo. On the 31st of August, the Eclair sloop, Captain Tyrrell, arrived at Genoa, in order to convoy the vessels to Corsica, and was himself supplied with eight oxen and such other refreshments as he required; when, on the next day, notice was given by the Genoese government that the oxen could not be embarked, for the exportation of them had been prohibited by a decree in the preceding year, dated October 30, 1795; although a considerable number had, since that date, been shipped for the supply of our Navy. It was in vain that the English Vice-consul, after presenting a memorial to the Genoese Secretary of State, urged the impatience of Captain Tyrrell, who had been sent by Commodore Nelson, and the embarrassment of the people who had provided the oxen; the Secretary replied, 'He might sail if he pleased,' and yet gave some hopes that an answer might possibly be returned by the evening of the 5th of September. Amidst this protracted uncertainty, Captain Tyrrell thought it necessary to sail on the 4th, promising to return again without delay; but in the offing he fortunately fell in with the Commodore, who immediately went ashore, and the same day gave in a most spirited memorial, from which the following is an extract: 'This case is so new and extraordinary, that the Commodore hopes there has been some mistake, which will be rectified; for he cannot imagine that the property of his Sovereign, or subjects, can be stopped by a friendly power on any pretence whatsoever. It is usual for all nations, when they think it right to prohibit the exportation of provisions, to give notice, that after a certain time no provisions would be allowed to be exported. The Commodore hopes, for the happiness of the Genoese nation, as also for that of the English, that the Serene Government will take no measure to interrupt the harmony that so desirably subsists between his Sovereign and the Serene Republic of Genoa.' The Genoese Secretary of State replied, that he could not say more than he had already done: upon which the indefatigable Nelson went himself to the Secretary, and pressed for an immediate answer. The Secretary, unused to deal with so decided a character, was obliged to hold out hopes that by noon the next day an answer might be returned: nothing however transpired; when the indignant Commodore requested an audience of the Doge, which was granted on the 8th in the evening. In writing to Mr. Drake, Sept. 9, Nelson alluded to what had passed: 'I hope you will not think I have gone too far; I assure you it went much against me to fish in diplomatic water, for there must be many forms in getting through those matters, which I am unacquainted with. The Russian Minister has just sent me word, that last night the Doge put the question to the Senate to give me thirty bullocks; but it was overruled, and I am not to have one. Their principal argument was, *We shall offend the French, and we had better offend the English*

than them, for the English will not injure us so much.' On the 10th, the Commodore addressed a note to the Genoese Secretary of State, desiring to be informed, whether an answer would on that day be given to his repeated applications for the embarkation of the cattle; and he declared, that if he received none, he would in the evening send off an express to Mr. Drake, and to Sir John Jervis; and would withdraw his Majesty's ships from the fort of Genoa.

A subsequent letter to Sir John Jervis on the 11th of September, gives an account of this visit to the Doge, and marks the impolitic conduct of the Genoese, many of whom, as Nelson declared, were bought over to the interest of the French: 'In my conversation with the Doge,' says the Commodore, 'I hinted, on his rather insinuating that a great army close to their gates might cut off all supplies of meat for the city, that we had the power to cut off all supplies of corn and wood which came by sea. His answer expressed what was true, that a small country, like Genoa, was in a terrible situation between two great powers at war. I urged our claim to justice, in having conformed to the laws of Genoa; and he admitted that we had justice and right on our side. You will, I am sure, Sir, do what is requisite, for a more flagrant disregard of the English can never be recorded. If the property of the Sovereign be sequestered, God knows how long the property of the subject may be safe; certainly no longer than it suits their convenience. I should think a firm demand from you, with the threat of detaining Genoese provisions, so long as they detain his Majesty's, would have its proper effect. Every day French vessels come to Genoa laden with powder, shot, &c. &c. and land them at S. Pier. d'Arena, where the French have large magazines of powder and other stores; they have four guns mounted on the beach for their protection, and are going to erect a large battery, and have 1000 men to defend it. They have demanded one of the large palaces for an hospital, and have taken it: if the war lasts, it must end in the French obtaining possession of Genoa, supposing their success continues.'

When writing to his wife on the 10th, previous to the above official communication, he had touched on the same subject; and with less reserve had spoke of himself, and the principles on which he had invariably acted: 'I have memorialised the Senate, and had an audience of the Doge, but still these wise heads are puzzled. The Doge was very curious about me; he asked my age, said he had heard much of me, that the blockade of Leghorn was strict beyond what he could have thought possible; at the same time he publicly thanked me for my goodness on many occasions to Genoese vessels. It has hitherto, my dearest Fanny, been my good fortune to have combined the strictest rigour of my duty with gaining the good will of the parties interested. My conduct has been open: That has been my secret, and it has answered.'

On the 11th of September, 1796, the same day on which he had written to the Admiral,

another, and if possible a more flagrant breach of neutrality and good faith took place at Genoa, which seems to have come to the Commodore's knowledge as he was concluding the above communication; for in a postscript he had added, 'Such an event has happened; but I must reserve it for another letter. Whatever may be the consequence, my mind tells me I have done perfectly right, and I hope you will think so.'—The French had a battery at S. Pier. d'Arena, and had landed all sorts of warlike stores under the guns of Genoa. Some deserters having in the preceding night escaped in a boat, the Commodore at daylight, on the 11th, had ordered Lieutenant Noble to examine the moles, and to endeavour to regain the boat, but without effect; and on the Captain's getting outside the mole head, the Commodore had sent Lieutenant Berry and two boats, but without soldiers, to examine the beach of S. Pier. d'Arena: his orders were, If the French battery fired on them, they should board the vessel which appeared to be landing something at the French battery; but even if the case required this, they were not to molest the vessel unless laden with warlike stores. On Mr. Berry's approach the French battery had fired on our boats; upon which he had boarded the vessel, and finding her laden with warlike stores, had brought her off to the Commodore. Whilst performing this service, the battery called the Lanthorn had also fired on the English boats; and afterwards the guns from the forts at Genoa had opened on the English squadron. The indignant Nelson immediately drew up and circulated what he emphatically styled,

Facts for the knowledge of every person in Genoa and the neighbourhood.

'A French battery at S. Pier. d'Arena fired on His Britannic Majesty's boats, the French landing all sorts of warlike stores under the guns of Genoa; the boats boarded and took a French vessel landing warlike stores abreast of the French battery, on which all the guns of Genoa opened a fire on H. B. M. ships, but not a shot was returned against the Genoese fortresses, and only three were directed at the French battery to mark the power of the English, and their humanity in not destroying the houses and innocent inhabitants of Genoa. How can the serene Government defend this conduct, as being strictly neutral? The place where the French erect batteries cannot be considered as neutral ground. The inhabitants of St. Pier. d'Arena, and the Genoese soldiers on the batteries, will, if they declare the truth, support the whole of my assertion, That the French fired first, and that the English boats had committed no act, good or bad, before the French fired. Signed, off Genoa, Sept. 11, 1796, Horatio Nelson.'

In writing again to the Admiral on the same day, the Commodore said, 'As I wish only to be supported by truth, I send you every paper relative to the subject, and firmly believe I shall receive the approbation of your judgment. I will only declare to you on my honour, that I had not the smallest intention to attack the French vessel, had not the

French themselves forced me to it: I do not think neutrality can be all on one side. I have sent another letter to the Consul desiring him to exert himself, and not to give way one inch; for that I felt I had acted perfectly right.'

His letter to Mr. Drake on the next day, Sept. 12, 1796, details the whole of this extraordinary proceeding: 'You my dear Sir,' said the Commodore, 'will I flatter myself do me the justice to declare, that no one ever more studiously endeavoured not to give offence to the Genoese; knowing, as I do, the influence which a terror of the French has upon their councils; but there are bounds beyond which insolence cannot be borne. I believe it is the first time that any neutral state which one of the powers at war in part possessed, in the least interfered between the belligerent powers, but allowed them to fight it out; and if the neutral state thought fit to preserve its neutrality, surely the party attacked had the most undoubted right to expect assistance, and not the attackers. . . . .

'Whilst I was writing my first declaration, which I sent by a lieutenant to Mr. Brame, the firing was continued by the French, and began from the Genoese: you will mark my forbearance in your representation. They must acknowledge, that from half past seven A. M. to one P. M. with the intermission of about half an hour, the batteries kept a continual fire of shot and shells. I should have been more pleasantly situated had I returned the fire, for my ship would then have been covered with smoke: the lives however that would have been lost in the town, and the damage done, would have been immense; but, as at l'Arma, not one shot did I fire at Genoa: this the whole town will say is true; and that it was in my power is to be presumed, or they would not have fired on me for such a length of time. That Being who has ever protected me, did not, wonderful to tell, permit one shot to strike the ship; both shot and shells came over us, under us, and on all sides, even to throwing the water upon our decks by shot striking the sea; but no, not a man was hurt, nor the ship touched.

'I continued to lie off Genoa with as perfect ease as usual; and at half past one P. M. I sent a flag of truce on shore to the southward of the town; Lieutenant Pierson was taken into the guard-room, and the captain of the port sent for to receive him. Mr. Pierson desired to go into the town, but was told the government could not be answerable for his safety; on which he delivered my letters. At six P. M. the captain of the port returned, and said, that my letter to the Secretary of State had been delivered, and that he was ordered by him to say, that the ports of the republic of Genoa were shut for the present against the English, and that the government would find ways to send me an answer. I had a letter from Lieutenant Compton by a Genoese boat, telling me, that whilst he was with Mr. Brame, a party of armed French attacked the four boys who row the jolly boat, but the guard at Porto Riale defended them and fired on the French; one Frenchman was killed, and others were wounded. The Genoese boat people told me that the

rage of the French was excessive, that they declared they would cut the volunteers into pieces the size of tunny fish, all was riot; the government had reinforced the guards at the gates and batteries, the drawbridges were up, and the gates shut. Some ladies and gentlemen who came to Mr. Pierson at the guard-room from their villas to ask what was the matter, and to be made acquainted with the real truth, said, the officer who commanded at the batteries was a strong jacobin; therefore this, my dear Sir, ought to be the man punished; our boats were under his protection: you will do what is right.'

On the next day the Commodore, having many letters for the Viceroy of Corsica, and wishing much to see him, stood for Bastia, and on the 14th, during his passage, wrote as follows to the Admiral: ' I assure you, dear Sir, on the most mature reflection, I feel nothing in this affair to reproach myself with; and I shall much rejoice to find you think the same. Some steps must necessarily be taken. You have formerly said, you would pardon my writing opinions to you; therefore, should not a squadron demand of the government of Genoa the free admission of their ports? the insult and cruelty of firing on our boats is, I suppose, more a ministerial affair; and in case of refusal, then comes the consideration what is next to be done: are the French to be attacked at S. Pier. d'Arena? is the trade of Genoa to be stopped? I mean are all Genoese vessels to be sent into St. Fiorenzo, and then ordered to remain with the masters and crews on board, in full possession of their vessels, until the government of Genoa open their ports and give satisfaction for what has happened? This last, to be sure, may be easily got over: I have in some measure taken upon myself to chastise the French, although supported by Genoa. I shall close this letter with whatever conversation I may have with the Viceroy.

' *Sept.* 15*th*. It is no small degree of pleasure for me to tell you, that the Viceroy most fully approves of every measure I have taken. He also wishes that the taking and securing Genoese ships be adopted, as a pledge for the safety of the English property at Genoa, and as a measure of reprisal for the conduct of the government. As the Viceroy will write more fully, I shall not touch on our intended Expedition.

The letter which Sir John Jervis afterwards addressed to Mr. Consul Brame, at Genoa, was written in the original spirit and loyalty of a British Admiral. ' Sir: I have read with astonishment and indignation, the paper sent to you by the Secretary of State of the most Serene Republic of Genoa, wherein he charges Commodore Nelson with making use of a subterfuge, to justify the boarding and carrying off a French tartan that was disembarking cannon and ordnance stores, at San Pietro d'Arena. I have no doubt you repelled this shameful attack on the bright honour of the Commodore; which you were fully enabled to do, by the deserters being actually in your possession at Genoa, and the boat in a bay near it. In addition to this, the enemy having erected a battery to cover and protect their depot of military stores in the territory of the most serene republic, was justifiable ground

for the Commodore to have acted upon, exclusive of their shameful fire on a small open boat. I have always respected the flag, and shewn friendly regard to the subjects of the Genoese government; and I am very solicitous to continue the practice, conformably to the will and pleasure of the King, my Royal Master, who is renowned for his good faith. But I desire you will take the earliest opportunity to make known to the most serene republic, That if the representations lately made by theViceroy of Corsica, Commodore Nelson, and myself, are not listened to, and summary justice done thereon, I shall feel myself bound by every principle which can govern an officer invested with the high command I have the honour to bear, to proceed to Genoa with the fleet and to exact it from the mouths of my cannon.'

Sir Gilbert Elliot, in a previous letter to the Commodore, had directed his attention to the island of Capraja, and had expressed a wish, that it could be secured in time from the designs of the enemy. As the Viceroy possessed the entire confidence of the Commander in Chief, no time was lost in projecting an Expedition against the island, which Nelson had hinted at to the Admiral in his letter of the 15th. The island of Capraja, or Cabrera, had been always considered as a part of Corsica, being only situated about 37 miles from the easternmost point of that island. When Corsica became an independent kingdom under Theodore, he gave his eldest son the title of Prince of Capraja, but not having any naval force to substantiate his claim, Capraja remained in the possession of the Genoese; for the French had not thought it an object worthy of their plunder.

The Viceroy in his letter of instructions to the Commodore, dated Sept. 15, 1796, respecting his cooperation in taking possession of Capraja, began with recapitulating the provocations which had compelled the adoption of that measure: the Genoese government had not only refused satisfaction for its insult and hostility on the 11th, but had intimated in answer to the representations made on that subject, that all the ports of the republic were shut against the British ships: hostilities had also been committed against Corsica, and his Majesty's subjects, by vessels fitted out at Capraja during the last two years, contrary to the laws of neutrality; and so far from any satisfaction having been obtained, the Genoese government had even declined to admit a British Vice Consul at Capraja, who might have given information of such injurious proceedings, and have restrained the many abuses of which we had reason to complain. An agent of the French republic had also been constantly established and avowed at Capraja, who had carried on every species of depredation and hostility; and the enemy had made a practice of coming over to that island with stores and ammunition destined for the re-conquest of Corsica: 'I have for these reasons,' added the Viceroy, 'judged it expedient to take possession of the fort and island of Capraja in His Majesty's name, and to place a British garrison there, until due satisfaction is made by the government of Genoa for the abovementioned injuries, and a

sufficient security is obtained against a repetition of them in future. I should have wished extremely to know the Admiral's pleasure on this occasion; but having already had an opportunity of being acquainted with his general sentiments on the subject, and the facility of executing this enterprise depending very much on dispatch and secrecy, I am well assured that Sir John Jervis will not disapprove of my carrying this measure into immediate effect. Under these circumstances I do not scruple, Sir, to request your assistance and cooperation, having had many opportunities of knowing your zeal and readiness on every occasion of public service. For particulars respecting the troops to be embarked on this Expedition, and all other matters relative to its execution, I beg leave to refer you to Lieutenant General de Burgh,[1] Commander in Chief. Major Logan who commands the troops, will concert every point with you and will join you in the summons, capitulation, or any other correspondence which you may find it necessary to have with the commissioner or commandant of the place.

'It remains only to point out the footing on which I deem it expedient to take possession. The place must be summoned to surrender to his Majesty's arms, the most favourable terms may be offered to the officers civil and military, and to the garrison; they may be carried to Genoa if they think proper, or may remain at Capraja on their parole, but not to take any part hostile to the English garrison. Every degree of protection must be promised to the inhabitants, and assurances that every attention will be paid to their interests and prosperity, during our occupation of the place. The public stores are to be delivered up on inventory, and are to be accounted for to the Genoese government, if an accommodation should hereafter take place. All French property is to be delivered up to the English, and the British flag is to be hoisted on the fort or towers. Wishing you success in this enterprise, and reposing entire confidence in your zeal and abilities, as well as in the spirit of your officers and men, I have the honour to be, &c. Gilbert Elliot.'

Having received the troops under the command of Major Logan on board the Captain and Gorgon, the Commodore immediately sailed from Bastia, in company with the Vanneau and Rose cutters, and on the next day was joined by la Minerve, Captain Cockburn.—During their passage the signal was made for the commander of the Rose, lieutenant Walker, and of the Vanneau, lieutenant Gourly, who had distinguished himself both at Toulon and Bastia, to come on board the Commodore in order to furnish whatever information they possessed respecting Capraja. Lieutenant Gourly informed him, that there was a place to the northward of the port, where he thought troops might be landed close to a tower of two guns, near which a hill was situated that looked down upon the town. The Commodore on hearing this, determined to send 200 men thither in the Rose and Vanneau, whilst he himself would endeavour to get the other troops on shore

[1] Now Lord Clanricarde.

near the southern part of the island. Owing to the excessive calm weather, it was the 17th of September before they arrived off Capraja, which had afforded time to the inhabitants to prepare every thing for the prevention of their landing; and there were not more than three places where it was possible for troops to be disembarked. This opposition, which was unexpected, induced Major Logan to divide his forces in order to distract the attention of the enemy. The Commodore was baffled in his intentions of landing near the southern part of the island; but in the mean time lieutenants Walker and Gourly, having succeeded in effecting a landing at the northern end of Capraja after a slight opposition, had gained possession of the two gun battery and the adjacent hill, with which information the Rose was dispatched to the Commodore. Four privateers that were lying in the harbour with above 300 men on board, as the day closed, made every preparation to come out; on which lieutenant Gourly immediately ran the Vanneau off the harbour's mouth, within half musket shot of the batteries: this effectually daunted the privateers, who imagined he was backed by other ships, and as it grew dark he got under weigh, and worked across from side to side until near midnight, when he was opportunely joined by la Minerve, Captain Cockburn, who with a light breeze had come to his assistance.

In his official letter to Sir John Jervis, dated Sept. 19, 1796, the Commodore gave an account of the surrender of the island on the 18th, commended the complete effect which had been produced by Major Logan's division of his forces, and declared, that lieutenants Walker and Gourly had conducted themselves much to his satisfaction. ' I landed 100 troops under the command of lieutenant Pierson, whom Major Logan and myself hold ourselves much pleased with for his management of the capitulation. A party of seamen were also landed under lieutenant Spicer, who carried cannon up the mountain with their usual spirit and alacrity. It would be doing injustice were a distinction to be made between the two services; all had full employment, and I am confident but one opinion prevailed, that of expediting the surrender of the island by every means in their power.' —At six o'clock on the morning of the 18th, they sent in their summons to the governor, warning him, that if the present favourable terms were not immediately acceded to, he would be responsible for the effusion of blood, and all the other consequences of his refusal. In answer to this, leave was requested to send to Genoa for orders. The Commodore and Major Logan replied, ' Had your answer been a refusal to treat, before this time our attack by land and sea would have been commenced; we will not permit any delay beyond one hour.' The capitulation then took place, and the troops marched out of their works with the honours of war.

' I cannot conclude,' adds the Commodore in his official letter, ' without assuring you of my most sincere approbation of the conduct of Captain Cockburn of la Minerve, Captain Dixon of the Gorgon, and lieutenant Berry, who had the temporary command

of the Captain, and of every officer and man in the squadron. Two French privateers are taken and two destroyed, with several vessels their prizes and some magazines of French property on shore.'

Whilst these plans of the Viceroy had been thus ably and successfully executed, he had resolved to extend the operations of the Commodore; and accordingly ordered the Rose, which had been sent to him with an account of the surrender of Capraja, to return immediately with fresh instructions respecting a design on Castiglione. The Commodore in his answer said, 'I received your letter on Tuesday morning at three o'clock, and immediately weighed from Capraja, where indeed all my business was not finished; but I never can rest idle if any thing is to be done. I ordered lieutenant Walker to keep by me, as I was totally ignorant of the navigation, and his cutter would be most useful in taking out the privateers. It was the evening before I got to Castiglione: having had bad weather and dangerous navigation, such as is rarely met with in the Mediterranean, I stood under Cape Troya, where I sent my boats on board some Neapolitan vessels, and afterwards to some Neapolitan towers on shore. I learnt that the French had taken possession of Castiglione on Wednesday evening with 500 men, and the Neapolitan officer expected them every moment to take possession of his towers. I have therefore been obliged to bring back your letters, which I have desired Colonel Montresor to forward to Bastia, for my presence is absolutely necessary at Leghorn.'

During his passage from Capraja, when the zealous mind of Nelson had been thus intent upon executing the instructions of the Viceroy, a Spanish frigate had been observed on the morning of September 20, coming from the southward; which, on raising the hull of the Captain, hauled her wind to the eastward, and in about an hour afterwards bore down on the Commodore,[m] on which he sent the following letter to the Spanish officer: 'Having heard, Sir, that several English ships have been detained in the ports of Spain, and also that the Court of Spain has made an alliance[n] offensive and defensive with France, I desire to know of you on your honour, if you are certain that there is a war between England and Spain.'—The Commodore also requested, that on this very delicate question the Spanish officer would attend him to Bastia, to speak to the Viceroy. The Captain of the Spanish frigate, la Vengeance, Don Juan de Sannava, replied, That when he sailed from Carthagena, on the 4th instant, nothing extraordinary had taken place, nor had he any knowledge of a declaration of war, nor of an alliance offensive and defensive with France: he expressed his astonishment at not being suffered to enter the port of Leg-

[m] From Commodore Nelson's dispatch and various enclosures to Sir J. Jervis.

[n] This offensive and defensive Treaty had been signed by the Spaniards at St. Ildephonso, August 19th; and by the French Sept. 6, and was ratified by the Council of Elders Sept. 12. War had been proclaimed by Spain against England on the 8th; but their manifesto against England was not published at Madrid until October 11.

horn, and declared that rather than wait for any reference to the Viceroy of Corsica, and should the Commodore's permission be still refused without that form taking place, he would return instantly to Carthagena, and send information of what had passed to his Court.

'As to permitting him to go to Leghorn,' added Commodore Nelson in his letter to the Admiral, 'that was out of the question with me; but I chose to have a good deal of communication with him, that I might draw my final opinion whether it were war when he sailed, which I am certain it was not. The second captain, who came on board, admitted that an English ship was detained at Carthagena, but that it was in consequence of several Spanish ships having been detained by the English, particularly in Corsica, and that Lord Bute had in consequence made representations. On the other hand, the circuitous route of the Spaniard through the straits of Bonifacio, and his wishing to get into Leghorn, led me to fancy he had cause for not wishing to meet any English ships of war.'

After some further deliberation, the Commodore sent Don Juan the following note: 'From the repeated assurances you have given me, Sir, on your honour, that there is no offensive alliance entered into by Spain with France against England, I am induced to show your Court, how desirous an English officer is to preserve that harmony and good understanding which ought ever to subsist between our two countries, by allowing you to return to Spain, instead of enforcing my reasonable request for you to proceed to Bastia, to speak to the Viceroy of Corsica.'

On the 24th the Commodore informed Mr. Udney, the Consul General for Tuscany, that all Genoese vessels would be detained until satisfaction should be given for the insults that had been offered to his Majesty's flag by firing on it, and also for the seizure of the British shipping and property in Genoa. The fate of this devoted city had long been expected and guarded against by the Commander in Chief; who in writing to Mr. Drake at Venice, on the 17th of September, had said, 'I had long, Sir, foreseen the fate of Genoa, and given Commodore Nelson particular directions to keep his eye upon it. I also discouraged some merchants, who retired from Leghorn, sending a valuable cargo thither; but their spirit of adventure outran my discretion: two empty transports were also ordered to repair to Genoa to receive the effects of our merchants. I now dispatch orders by his Majesty's sloop l'Eclair to temporise with the serene republic, until he can secure the factory and their property. Your absence is deplored by us all. Your commissioner gives a very exact account of the number of French ships of the line, frigates, and corvettes at Toulon ready for sea, with the exception of their sails not being all bent. We are frequently inferior to them in our number of line of battle ships, and they have between twenty and thirty frigates and corvettes, while I have not one; the whole of mine being employed in the Archipelago, Adriatic, blockade of Leghorn, covering Corsica, and con-

voying between Naples and Corsica. I have the satisfaction to assure you, that there never was a squadron in higher health, order, or government, than the one I have the honour to command. I have caused every ship to be thoroughly caulked at sea, and we are for the most part patched and painted; and when I reflect that we are in the close of the three and twentieth week at sea, I cannot be too thankful for the goodness of Providence. The Emperor must employ young and uncorrupt men in the command of his armies, or these devils will run over them every where: I fear French gold has been successfully distributed both in his Camps and Councils.'

The Genoese government, on hearing of our taking possession of Capraja, had delivered a note of remonstrance to the British Minister, declaring, that their reasons for excluding the British ships from the Ligurian ports, the order for which had been dated Sept. 11, 1796, was a measure of preservation and state necessity. The Commodore, in writing to Sir John Jervis, had expressed a hope that the government of Genoa would recollect itself, and that Capraja might soon be held as Porto Ferrajo was. 'A squadron,' added Nelson, 'in sight of Genoa, and a firm demand, would I trust have its proper effect.'—In order therefore to give the infatuated government of the serene republic every opportunity to recollect its own interests and the general security of Italy, the Commander in Chief had sent the Commodore to Genoa, with a flag of truce and an offer to restore Capraja, on condition that things were placed on their ancient footing. But nothing could rouse the degraded spirit of the Genoese senators who have since paid so severely for the pusillanimity and dishonour of their conduct, which laid Italy open to the perfidy and avaricious extortion of the French; whose army, as they themselves have acknowledged, must in 1794, and 1795, have been inevitably starved whilst its head-quarters were at Nice, if it had not been supplied by the Genoese.

The Captain being sent from Leghorn to Ajaccio, an acting order to command her was given to Mr. Berry; and the Commodore, for the time, shifted his broad pendant on board the Diadem, 64, Captain G. H. Towry, and directed his principal attention to the designs of the French in Corsica and the important service he would again have to perform in that island. On his passage to Bastia to consult with the Viceroy, Nelson, in writing to the Admiral, Sept. 28, 1796, delineated those extraordinary powers of discrimination in his mind, which minutely searched and investigated every possible event that was likely to occur: 'Sir: During the course of yesterday, I received repeated information of the movements of the privateers which are to carry the Corsicans, their whole number is nine hundred, including officers; six brass twelve-pounders, thirty-five cases of muskets, with other articles, are embarked in from fifteen to twenty privateers, and I am certain they mean to sail the first favourable moment. On the 25th, each Corsican

was paid 100 livres, and they behave so ill at Leghorn that the French are determined to send them off, upon their general principle of acting, *If these fellows succeed, so much the better for us; and if they do not, we get rid of a set of scoundrels.*

'Now, Sir, the point for me to consider is, where will the French land in Corsica? the twelve-pounders can only be to possess a post: this, you will say, the Viceroy, from his information and means of knowledge, must guess at better than any of us. I am therefore on my way to concert with his Excellency how I can best use my small force to his advantage, considering the other services I have to look to.

'My idea runs strongly that Porto Vecchio, which is reported to be neglected by us, and in which is a fort, is the object the enemy mean to possess; if their friends in the island intend to support them, that port is a sure refuge for their vessels, and an opening for the introduction of more troops and supplies. If the Viceroy will order some proper men into the fort, and I find the Sardine, I will, with the Vanneau which I have ordered from Leghorn for that purpose, place as guard ships in the harbour; and I will endeavour to have a frigate off that part of the coast. If the enemy land nearer Bastia, these vessels with those which may be there will be sure to destroy them; although it is possible the men may get on shore: but I hope from the small craft which may be sent about the islands between Corsica and the main, we may get accounts of their approach. If their intention be to land on the western coast of Corsica, I take for granted they will never attempt the route by Cape Corse, which would every hour expose them to the sight of some of our ships, and of course would be fatal to them. Be they to land on the eastern or western side, I shall act on the idea that they will proceed to the southward passing Piombino to Castiglione, the last place in their possession: but if I can get at them on that coast, I believe it will be in my power to spoil their expedition. If they are to pass the straits of Bonafacio, that must be a work of time, and we shall have many chances for their destruction: no opportunity for which shall be omitted by, Sir, your most obedient servant. P. S. The French are very angry at our taking Capraja: the commissioner was heard to say to Gentili, *I told you we should have sent* 300 *men and taken Capraja; you now see the consequences.*'

On the 29th, when in sight of Bastia, he added, 'The Austrians, under the Archduke, took possession of Frankfort on the 8th, and it is expected that Wurmser will once more attack the French: Mantua stopped him again. All hope for another and younger General. The Neapolitan property is detained by the French at Leghorn.'

The error which the Austrian Commander had committed, did not pass unobserved by the keen observation of Sir John Jervis, who in one of his letters said, 'Marshal Wurmser, by not following up his blow, has suffered Buonaparte to outwit him and must act upon

a miserable defensive during the rest of the campaign. The French are in possession of all the circles of the empire, except those covered by Prussia, and are levying contributions at will.'

That nothing however might be wanting on the part of the English nation to support the good cause, and to cooperate to the very utmost of its power with the Austrians, a reinforcement had been detached by Sir J. Jervis into the Adriatic; an account of which is given in the following letter from the Admiral to Colonel Graham serving with the Austrian army: 'I have sent a squadron of frigates and sloops of war into the Adriatic commanded by active enterprising seamen, and able officers, who will perform the services required, to the utmost extent of the wishes of Marshal Wurmser. I have no vessels which come under the description of flotilla except two gun-boats lately captured by Commodore Nelson, and they are at present employed in the blockade of Leghorn, and when that service is over will proceed to the Tiber. Captain Miller, who is an officer of infinite resource, will fit out a hundred at Trieste, if the Emperor will put confidence in him; and should hostilities have recommenced between the Neapolitans and French, his Sicilian Majesty can furnish a number of the completest vessels in the Mediterranean. I beg you will assure the Marshal that on his approach to the coast I will pay my respects to him.'

The evacuation of Corsica being at length determined on, in consequence of the war with Spain, the Admiral sent the information to the Commodore, September 25, 1796. 'Having received orders to cooperate with the Viceroy in the evacuation of the island of Corsica, and afterwards to retreat down the Mediterranean with his Majesty's fleet under my command, I desire you will lose no time in going over to Bastia, and consulting with the Viceroy upon the best means of performing the operation, and to give every assistance in your power towards the completion of it; leaving the blockade of Leghorn under the direction of Captain Cockburn.' On the 27th, in writing to the Hon. Vice Admiral Waldegrave, Sir John Jervis added, 'As soon as the embarkation of Corsica is complete, I am directed to proceed to England with the fleet; but I shall not be surprised if I receive orders by a letter, expected every moment, to go to Lisbon.'—The Commodore on reaching Bastia, September 29th, met with the above dispatch, and the next day informed the Admiral of it. 'Sir: Last night on my arrival I received your most secret orders; but I believe many people on this island have an idea that something like your orders is going forward. I shall not fail to arrange what transports may be necessary for each port, which is all that I can do until matters are brought to greater maturity. The Viceroy thinks that there will not be more than about 600 emigrées, Corsicans and French, and the stores I do not believe are very numerous; for the ordnance which we found in the different fortifications, the Viceroy will not I imagine think it right to take away. His Excellency is very much distressed by this measure, and believes the island is at this mo-

ment in a most perfect state of loyalty to the King, and affection for the British nation: but what strikes me as a greater sacrifice than Corsica, is the King of Naples: if he has been induced to keep off the peace,° and has perhaps engaged in the war again by the expectation of the continuance of our fleet in the Mediterranean, hard indeed is his fate: his kingdom must inevitably be ruined.'

Bastia, October 3d, 1796. 'I have arranged upon paper, for more whilst the affair is to be kept secret cannot be done, the disposition and number of transports which will be wanted at each port; it must not be considered as exact for the reason before stated, but it is very near the mark. No cannon or stores taken in the island are to be touched. Corsica is to be left entirely independent and with means of defence against any power. God knows what turn the minds of the Corsicans may take when the measure comes to be known. Their love of plunder, and a desire to make peace with their former tyrants the French, may induce them to disturb us, and in that event an embarkation of stores, especially from hence, is by no means easy: but this is a digression. I send you the account of ships necessary, made out from returns of stores to the General and by communication with the Viceroy. It will at least shew you that my mind has not been idle, however my abilities, without a soul to speak to in the different departments, may fall short of my wishes.'

As the measure of the evacuation of Corsica, and the withdrawing of the fleet had been determined on, the active mind of the Commander in Chief became anxious for its speedy execution: 'I trust,' said he, in writing to the Viceroy, October 2d, 'that by the 20th or 25th instant, every thing will be ready for us to proceed. The war with Spain is certain, for I have orders to attack ships of war of that nation, in fleets, or singly, wherever I meet them. How unfortunate that Commodore Nelson could not have been put in possession of this in time. I only received it last night .... Your letter to the Duke of Portland is replete with sound reasoning; but it was determined to abandon Corsica, in case of a war with Spain, a year ago.'—The active mind of Nelson, equally impatient with that of the Admiral to execute his orders, replied on the 15th of October to Sir J. Jervis, 'As far as my powers and abilities go, you may rely on me that nothing shall be left undone which ought to be done, even should it be necessary to knock down Bastia. Last night I took the Viceroy and Secretary of State afloat; and at daylight this morning went to General de Burgh, and told him, that from the embarkation of the Viceroy, the evacuation and regulation of this town became entirely military, and of course devolved on us.

° An Armistice between the King of Naples, and the French, had been signed on the 5th of June, 1796, and on the ensuing 10th of October, when Corsica had been evacuated and our fleet was about to withdraw from the Mediterranean, that King was obliged to sign a peace with the republic; a measure of necessity which is said to have been recommended by our Ministers.

I hope the General will join me cordially. I have been to the magazines and have arranged, as far as I have the means, the embarkation of provisions; and the General says he will have proper guards to keep off the populace. I have recommended to him to send for the municipality, and to tell them that the direction of affairs was in our hands, and that it would be at their peril were they to interfere in the embarkation of any property belonging to us. Had not the ships arrived when they did, yesterday would have lost us Bastia; the ships are laid opposite the town, with springs. I am sorry to say the convoy with Southampton, is not in sight and it is calm, the Captain is not at anchor: it is the terror of the ships which will keep order here. If you could order a ship round and two transports, they would be very useful. I have detached a felucca to prepare Capraja, and shall send Southampton to attend at Elba, but that evacuation not to take place until we are finished here, which according to the present appearances will be some time. Had not Elba been ours, our Smyrna convoy and transports, I believe, would have been lost. I purpose taking the ships from Leghorn when we are absolutely all afloat, or we shall have swarms of privateers to torment us.'

Oct. 17, 1796, *in continuation.* 'I have received your letter, and am going on as well as a heavy surf will permit. The dispatches of this morning are wonderful: do his Majesty's Ministers know their own [p] minds? If you stay, we are sure of the coast opposite to Elba and the fine bay of Telamon. It does not become me to say a word: the national honour and the fate of Italy cannot, I am confident, be placed in better hands than yours. The whole weight is left on you. *October* 18. We are smoother than we have been, but still there is a good deal of surf. I shall strictly attend to all your orders, and will write more fully to morrow.'

The withdrawing of our fleet from the Mediterranean, in consequence of the expected junction of the French and Spanish squadrons, was by no means consonant to the feelings of Nelson; and whilst his mind was irritated with the idea of this retreat, he had thus expressed himself in a letter to his wife. 'We are all preparing to leave the Mediterranean, a measure which I cannot approve. They at home do not know what this fleet is capable of performing; any thing and every thing. Much as I shall rejoice to see England, I lament our present orders in sackcloth and ashes, so dishonourable to the dignity of England, whose fleets are equal to meet the world in arms; and of all the fleets I ever saw, I never beheld one in point of officers and men equal to Sir John Jervis's, who is a Commander in Chief able to lead them to glory.'

The Admiral on being made acquainted with the vast superiority of the Spanish squadron, which had entered the Mediterranean Sept. 28th, determined to leave his station off Toulon to the care of Captain Troubridge in the Culloden, and to proceed to San Fiorenzo

[p] Counter orders respecting the fleet.

to water, and hasten the embarkation. He accordingly informed Captain Troubridge, October 8, 1796, that Captain Bowen had reported the Cadiz squadron sixteen or eighteen sail of the line; and that when reinforced by the Carthagena ships, they probably would amount to twenty-four sail of the line and ten or twelve frigates, 'too great odds,' added the Admiral, 'for me to encounter off Toulon, charged as I am with the evacuation of Corsica. As Captain Hallowell's health is not good, and the Courageux does not sail so fast as the Culloden, Zealous, and Bombay Castle, send him down to me, and do you stay off Toulon, keeping one of your ships out to the southward of you in the day, and another to the westward; giving the Captains a strict charge to close in the evening and not be led off in chace. I have ordered the Cameleon to go in quest of the Spanish fleet, and in case of falling in with it, steering to the eastward, to make the best of his way back and give you notice, *en route* to me. I hope all we have to remove from the island of Corsica will be afloat in a fortnight from this date, and that I shall take my departure on or before the 25th. Keep an attentive eye on the enemy's ships in Toulon, as I conclude they will put forward the moment they learn the Spanish fleet is within the Mediterranean.'

It had been the intention of the Commodore, on hearing of Sir John Jervis' arrival at San Fiorenzo, to have gone over and conversed with him, but this not being thought prudent, he determined to remain and act with the Viceroy: considerable apprehensions had been entertained on the night of the 14th that the citadel would be lost, from the state in which Bastia was at that time. Still, however, the zeal and resources of Nelson found the means of executing the important service on which he was engaged. By the 19th the greater part of the flour and all the salt provisions were on board, and they were getting off the powder. 'We shall attend chiefly,' says he, in writing on that day to the Admiral, 'to that most important article ordnance stores, all English guns, mortars, and stores, should most assuredly be removed at every place. My present intention is to embark the troops on the morning of the 21st: I am sorry to be obliged to take the line of battle ships to Elba, as I am anxious to have them with you; but they are so full of stores and will perhaps be of troops, that I can only say twelve hours shall be the outside for Egmont and Excellent, and I shall bring the Viceroy probably in a few hours afterwards to talk with you. Sardine is under weigh for Naples, and only waits to make sail until the Viceroy's letter is finished. Dido is gone to Elba to acquaint Colonel Montresor the commandant of the great change. Every thing may be done at Porto Ferrajo, you will be delighted with that port.

Noon, Oct. 19th. 'We have just received accounts from the municipality, that a number of French have landed near Cape Corse and have sent to demand of the municipality what part they mean to take. The Viceroy has informed the municipality, that we wish to quit them amicably and in the state we promised; but if they permitted the French to

enter the town, or in any way embarrassed our embarkation, that it would end in the destruction of the batteries and would be highly detrimental to Bastia. We shall act I see with prudence and retreat in time. The garrison of Capraja is arrived.'

The King of Naples, as the Commodore had apprehended, heard with consternation of the late measure that had been adopted, and beheld the ruin of his kingdom in the retreat of the British fleet. His Majesty lost no time in expressing his feelings on this subject to Sir John Jervis; who, on the 19th of October, 1796, returned the following answer from Fiorenzo Bay. 'Sire: The gracious condescension your Majesty has been pleased to shew to me, in delineating under your royal hand the dreadful effect which the retreat of the fleet of the King my master from these seas, would have upon your Majesty's dominions and upon all Italy in the present crisis, has prompted me to exert every nerve to give all the support in my power to the cause of Religion and Humanity in which we are engaged; and I have in consequence thereof, and conformably to the instructions I have recently received, concerted with the Viceroy of Corsica to take post in the island of Elba and to face the enemy, as long as the subsistence of the fleet and army will admit. We are greatly in want of every species of provisions, and I rely on your Majesty to supply us from your fruitful dominions, to enable me to fulfil the purity of my zeal and good intention in support of the common cause. To this effect I intreat your Majesty to cause the necessary orders to be given, that the agents of the British army and navy may be permitted to make the requisite purchases, which will be paid for in the most ample manner. Permit me, Sire, to express the high sense I entertain of your Majesty's goodness to me, and to assure your Majesty that I shall be proud of every occasion to give proof of my profound respect.'

The whole of the evacuation of Bastia was conducted to the entire satisfaction of the Viceroy, of General de Burgh, and the Commodore; who afterwards went to Porto Ferrajo, whence the following report was made by Nelson to the Admiral, dated Captain, Oct. 21, 1796. 'Sir: Between the 14th, when I arrived at Bastia, and the 19th, I was joined by the Captain, Excellent, Egmont, and Southampton. The ships of the line were moored opposite the town. The embarkation of stores and provisions which commenced on the 15th, was continued without intermission until the 19th at sunset. In that night every soldier and other person were brought off with perfect good order from the north end of the town. It is unnecessary for me to mention to you the fatigue of the whole of this duty; but I cannot omit to state the merits of every officer employed on it, and most particularly that of Lieut. Day, agent for transports; and much which has been saved may be fairly attributed, without disparagement to any one, to his indefatigable attention and ability. The Captains of all the ships of war, although not particularly in their line of duty, never omitted night and day their personal exertions. This service was carried on with

the utmost cordiality between his Excellency the Viceroy, Lieutenant General de Burgh, and myself, and I cannot but think it right to inform you of it.'

Anno Ætat. 39.

During the active scene in which Nelson had been engaged, his correspondence with the Duke of Clarence experienced some interruption; but having completed this important service, the Commodore took the earliest opportunity to send information of it to his early and stedfast friend, dated Captain, Oct. 25, 1796. 'Sir: I was honoured with your Royal Highness's letter of Sept. 2d a few days past, in the midst of a very active scene, the evacuation of Bastia; which being our first post was intrusted to my direction, and I am happy to say that not only Bastia, but every other place in the island is completely evacuated. The Corsicans sent to Leghorn for the French, as was natural for them, in order to make their peace; and the enemy was in one end of Bastia, before we had quitted the other. The exertions of the Navy on this occasion, as on all others which I have seen, have been great, and beyond the expectations of those who never will believe what we are capable of performing. Our troops are ordered to Porto Ferrajo, which can be defended against any number of the enemy for a length of time; and the port, although small, will hold with management our whole fleet and transports. As soon as all our transports are arrived at Elba, we are to go out to look for Man, who is ordered to come up: we shall then be twenty-two sail of such ships as England hardly ever produced, and commanded by an Admiral, who will not fail to look the enemy in the face, be their force what it may: I suppose it will not be more than thirty-four sail of the line. We may reasonably expect reinforcements from England; for whilst we can keep the combined fleet in the Mediterranean, so much more advantageous to us, and the moment we retire the whole of Italy is given to the French. Be the successes of the Austrians what they may, their whole supply of stores and provisions comes from Trieste across the Adriatic to the Po, and when this is cut off they must retire. If the Dons detach their fleet out of the Mediterranean, we can do the same, however that is distant. I calculate on the certainty of Admiral Man's joining us, and that in fourteen days from this day we shall have the honour of fighting these gentlemen: there is not a seaman in the fleet who does not feel confident of success. If I live, your Royal Highness shall have no reason to regret your friendship for me, and I will support Sir John Jervis to the utmost of my power... I hope soon to hear that your flag is flying, which I am sure will be most honourable for yourself and I trust most advantageous for our King and Country. I am, as ever, your most faithful Horatio Nelson.'

On the 11th of the ensuing month November, 1796, the Commodore, when at sea, sent a full account of the whole proceeding to his Royal Highness. 'Sir: What may be thought in England of our evacuation of Bastia I know not, but I conceive myself to have a fair right to be well spoken of, as the few facts which I shall state will evince. I shall

relate them to your Royal Highness, to give you an idea of the state of our army and the Viceroy on my arrival.

'On the 14th of October I was close in with Bastia, before daylight, in the Diadem Captain Towry. Before the ship anchored I went on shore to the Viceroy, landing opposite to his house. I found his Excellency very happy at my arrival, and he immediately requested I would permit his most valuable papers to be sent off in my boat, for it was impossible to say how long they might be safe on shore. The Viceroy then told me the state of the town and country: that a committee of thirty had taken on them the government of the town, had sequestered all the property of the English on shore, and in the Mole, and also that a plan was laid to seize his person, that the town was full of armed Corsicans who had mounted guard at every place, and that our troops were in the citadel, except the guard at his house.

'From the Viceroy I went to General de Burgh, passing through the town full of armed men, where I learned that as many armed Corsicans as British were in the citadel, that they had mounted guard with our troops at the citadel gate, on the batteries, barrier gates, and at the storehouses of government and of the merchants, and that it was necessary for our troops to stand to their arms for self defence; in short, that there was not a prospect of saving either stores, cannon, or provisions. I submitted to the General the propriety of shutting the citadel gate in order to prevent any more armed men from getting into it, and that I would moor the ships opposite to the town. On my return from the General and the Viceroy, the merchants, owners and captains of privateers, came to me in tears, stating the fact of even a trunk with wearing apparel being refused them, and that they were beggars without my help: a transport's boat had, they said, been refused permission to leave the Mole until she was searched, and on nothing being found in her they suffered her to pass; a privateer was moored across the Mole heads. I requested them to be quiet, and that nothing should be left undone by me for their relief. About ten A. M. the Egmont, Captain Sutton, arrived, which I moored the same as the Diadem. At noon, having made the signal for boats manned and armed, I ordered Captain Towry to proceed into the Mole with them, and to open the passage for all the vessels who chose to come out; with instructions to take the first English vessel he came to in tow, and if he met with the smallest molestation he was to send to the municipality in my name, and inform them that if the least impediment were thrown in the way in getting any vessel out of the Mole, or in embarking any property belonging to the English from the town, I would instantly batter it down. Captain Sutton very handsomely went to Towry's assistance, for on the approach of the latter to the Mole the privateer pointed her guns, and 100 muskets were levelled from the Mole head. On this Captain Sutton sent my message, and pulling out his watch gave them them one quarter of an hour for

an answer, when the ships would in five minutes open their fire. Upon this the people on board the privateer, and from the Mole heads, even to the Corsican sentries, quitted the place with the utmost precipitation, and of course every vessel came out of the Mole.

'In the afternoon an owner of a privateer came to me to say, he had forty hogsheads of tobacco with various other goods in the custom-house, and that the municipality refused to deliver them: I directed him to go to the committee, and say I sent him for his goods, which if not instantly delivered I would open my fire. In five minutes he returned with the keys, and said the committee turned as white as a sheet, said not a word, but gave him the keys. At night they made an effort to get duty paid for some wine landed, and of course going to be embarked by an English merchant. I had only occasion to send word that I would pay them a disagreeable visit if I had any more complaints. This was a last effort; from that moment not an armed man was seen in the street. Bastia never had been it was acknowledged so quiet and orderly, since we had been in possession of the island.

'The Viceroy consented to go on board my ship that night, which took off from the General and myself all concern for his safety. On the 15th in the morning, I landed my troops to take post at the Viceroy's house, which covered our embarking place, and a hundred seamen as a working party; the General ordered about another hundred men from the troops for the same purpose, and the rest kept post in the citadel. We set heartily to work, and continued without intermission until the 19th at sunset; when I calculate we had saved about 200,000*l.* sterling worth of cannon, powder, stores, and provisions, exclusive of baggage, household stuff, &c. &c. for the poor emigrées could not afford to leave a rag. Our boats never ceased night nor day.

'On the 18th the French had landed troops near Cape Corse, about thirty-six miles from Bastia. On the 19th they sent a message to the municipality, desiring to know how they intended to receive them: if as friends, they demanded that the English should be prevented from embarking. In this state nothing more could be attempted to be saved: therefore at twelve at night our troops quitted the citadel, first spiking the guns, and came to the north end of the town, where there is an open line of ground on which they could act in case of being attacked. The French passing at the back of the town were in the citadel at one A. M. From its blowing a gale of wind, it was dawn of day when the General and myself[q] went into the barge, not one man being left ashore; and we took

[q] Commodore Nelson was the last person who left the shore. On getting into his boat he turned round to the Corsican mob, and with the coolness of a sailor anathematized the whole of their ungrateful race, adding, *Now, John Corse, follow the natural bent of your detestable character, plunder, and revenge.* Seneca, when describing the Corsicans of his day, used nearly the same expressions:

Lex prima ulcisci, lex altera vivere rapto,
Tertia mentiri, quarta negare Deos.

with us the two field pieces brought down to cover our retreat. It is impossible I can do justice to the good dispositions of the General, or the admirable management of the Viceroy with the Corsicans, not one of whom but wept on parting with the latter: even those who had opposed his administration could not but love and respect so amiable a character. It was clear the dread of the French was more predominant in their minds, than dislike to us; and it was this perhaps that led them to their first unjustifiable resolutions, and which nothing but the terror of our ships kept them from adhering to. At this time the Spanish fleet was off Cape Corse, but we had a fair wind, and before night I had every vessel safe moored in Porto Ferrajo, for its size the most complete port in the world.'

When writing to Captain Locker, Nov. 5th, 1796, the Commodore had said, 'I have seen the first and the last of Corsica. Its situation certainly was most desirable for us, but the generality of its inhabitants are so greedy of wealth and so jealous of each other, that it would have required the patience of Job and the riches of Crœsus to satisfy them. They acknowledge they are only to be ruled by the governing power destroying all its enemies, and bribing all its friends: they already regret our departure.—The conduct of the Pope is most extraordinary; Italy has been lost by the fears of its Princes; had they expended half the money to preserve their territories which they have paid the French for entering them, their countries would have been happy, instead of being filled with present misery and diabolical notions of government.—*Nov.* 11, *off Minorca.* We left St. Fiorenzo on the 2d at night, and are now seeing our Smyrna convoy part of the way down the Straits, and hope to meet Admiral Man. As soon as our fleet is united, I have no doubt but we shall look out for the combined fleet, in which I suppose are about thirty-four sail of the line. I need not give you the character of Sir J. Jervis, you know him well, therefore I shall only say he is worthy of such a fleet as I never before saw at sea; for he knows how to use us in the most beneficial manner for our Country. Towry can want no recommendation to me, or Sir John; his courage and abilities as a commander have been eminently displayed, and his qualities as a gentleman are equalled by few and exceeded by none. I am under particular obligations to him. My pendant was in his ship for three weeks, and nothing could surpass his goodness to me. I know Sir John Jervis has the highest regard for him.'

In a letter to Mrs. Nelson, Nov. 7th, he added, 'You will, by this time, have known the determination that has been made for this fleet to remain in the Mediterranean. As soon as we have defeated the Spanish fleet, which I doubt not with God's help we shall do, I have two or three little matters to settle in Italy, and then I care not how quickly I return to you. Do not flatter yourself that I shall be rewarded, I expect nothing; and therefore shall not be disappointed: the pleasure of my own mind will be my reward. I am more interested and feel a greater satisfaction, in obtaining yours and my Father's

applause, than that of all the world besides.'—On the 25th he also sent to the Rev. Mr. Hoste a sketch of these transactions, and prefaced it with kind mention of his son:—' I can only say, which will be enough for a letter, that I never once have had cause to wish your good son William any thing but what he is; but I have strongly recommended to him not to break any more limbs. You will perhaps, Sir, expect a little news from hence, the fountain head; but our future movements are too important to be trusted to a letter, and our past ones every newspaper tells you more than I can; for what is not known they happily guess at. Our evacuation of Corsica was accomplished beyond our most sanguine expectations, and contrary to the belief of our absent friends: the Spanish fleet was only thirty-six miles from us. I landed the whole army, &c. &c. safe at Porto Ferrajo, a place of shelter which I had assisted to take a few months before. I should be sorry to have a peace until we have made the Dons pay for meddling. When you see Mr. and Mrs. Coke pray make my compliments.'

The next important service on which the Commodore was engaged, was the evacuation of Porto Ferrajo; and to this Sir John Jervis had alluded, in a note, in which he marked the neglect which too many officers experienced who served at a distance from the immediate notice of their country. ' Without giving Lord Spencer a greater degree of credit than is due to any minister, he certainly is sincere in his professions to you; because he has written to me fully respecting you, and has promoted Berry. Unfortunately for those who serve at a distance, and do not publish their own achievements in the newspapers, the value of their services is never made known to John Bull; and they who dispense patronage are niggardly to them, while they are profuse to the young men in frigates employed to protect the trade, or the coast. I have much to say, and shall very soon have to employ you on a most critical and arduous service. Most faithfully yours.' Accordingly on December the 10th, 1796, Nelson received an order to hoist his broad pendant on board the Minerve frigate, Captain George Cockburn, and to take the Blanche, Captain Preston, under his command, and with them to proceed to Porto Ferrajo, in order with the assistance of the ships in that port to convey the troops and stores that had been landed there, to Gibraltar and Lisbon. ' Having experienced,' added the Admiral, ' the most important effects from your enterprise and ability upon various occasions, since I have had the honour to command in the Mediterranean, I leave entirely to your judgment the time and manner of carrying this critical and arduous service into execution.'—When writing at this time to his wife, Nelson said, ' I am going on a most important mission, which with God's blessing I have little doubt of accomplishing; it is not a fighting mission, therefore be not uneasy. I feel honoured in being trusted, as I am, by Sir John Jervis.—If I have money enough in Marsh and Creed's hands, I wish you would buy a Cottage in Norfolk. I shall follow the plough with much greater satisfaction than viewing all the magnificent scenes in Italy.'

Admiral Sir John Jervis, K. B. to Sir Gilbert Elliot, Bart. dated Gibraltar, Dec. 10, 1796.

'There being two Captains of frigates senior to Captain Freemantle in the eastern part of the Mediterranean, Captain Tyler who commands in the Adriatic and Captain Curzon cruising between Sardinia and the coast of Barbary, I have given the command of the whole to Commodore Nelson, whose firmness and ability will very soon combine and fix all the parts of our force, naval and military. As the Commodore intends to hasten to Naples, in hopes of seeing you before your departure for England, he will inform you of the extent of my new Instructions dated the 7th of November, and the plan I am about to pursue to form a junction with the reinforcement, which I am told will sail as soon as it can be collected: the westerly winds are so prevalent in the English Channel until the approach of Christmas, that I do not expect it to reach the Tagus before the beginning of January. The evacuation of Porto Ferrajo, both in respect to period of time and manner, I have left entirely to the judgment of Commodore Nelson, and it cannot be in better hands: the ratification or entire dissolution of the preliminary treaty between the Directory, and the Prince of Belmonte, must take place ere the Commodore can be in forwardness to carry this part of my Instructions into execution. You make me very happy by expressing a wish that our acquaintance may not end with the close of the public characters we hold in the Mediterranean; for I beg leave to assure you that in the course of my service, I never acted with a man whose conduct in all respects inspired me with so much confidence, and that claimed a higher degree of respect and esteem than yours.'

During the passage to Porto Ferrajo the Commodore fell in with two Spanish frigates; and the following letters to his Admiral, dated Dec. 20, give the official account of the capture and recapture of la Sabina. 'Sir: Last night at ten o'clock I saw two Spanish frigates, and directed Captain Cockburn in the Minerve to attack the ship which carried a poop light; the Blanche bore down to attack the other. I have not yet received from Captain Preston an account of his action, but as I saw the Blanche this morning to windward with every sail set, I presume she has not suffered much damage. Captain Cockburn brought his ship to close action at twenty minutes before eleven, which continued without intermission until half past one A. M. when la Sabina of 40 guns, twenty-eight eighteen-pounders on her main-deck, and 286 men, Captain Don Jacobo Stuart, having lost her mizen-mast as she did after the action her main and fore-masts, and having 164 men killed and wounded, struck her colours. You are, Sir, so thoroughly acquainted with the merits of Captain Cockburn,[r] that it is needless for me to express them; but the discipline of the Minerve does the highest credit to her Captain and Lieutenants, and I wish fully to declare the sense I entertain of their judgment and gallantry. Lieutenant Culverhouse, the first lieutenant, is an old officer of distinguished merit. Lieutenants Hardy, Gage, and

[r] At present Commander of the Pompèe, 74 guns.

Noble, deserve every praise which gallantry and zeal justly entitle them to, as does every other officer and man in the ship. You will observe, Sir, I am sure with regret amongst the wounded, lieutenant James Noble, who quitted the Captain to serve with me, and whose merit and repeated wounds received in fighting the enemies of our country, entitle him to every reward which a grateful nation can bestow. The Minerve's opponent being commanded by a gallant officer, was well defended, which has caused her list[s] of killed and wounded to be great, as also her masts, sails and rigging to be much damaged.'

Dec. 20, *seven P. M. in continuation.* 'Sir: In addition to my letter of this morning, I have to acquaint you that lieutenants Culverhouse and Hardy, with a proper number of men, being put in charge of la Sabina and she taken in tow, at four A. M. a frigate was seen coming up, which by her signals was known to be Spanish; at half past four she came to action with the Minerve, who cast off the prize, and lieutenant Culverhouse was directed to stand to the southward. After a trial of strength of more than half an hour, she wore and hauled off, or I am confident she would have shared the fate of her companion: at this time three other ships were seen standing for the Minerve, hope was alive that they were only frigates, and also that the Blanche was one of them; but when the day dawned, it was mortifying to see there were two Spanish ships of the line and two frigates, and the Blanche far to windward. In this situation, the enemy frequently within shot by bringing up the breeze, it required all the skill of Captain Cockburn, which he eminently displayed, to get off with a crippled ship: and here I must also do justice to lieutenants Culverhouse and Hardy, and express my tribute of praise at their management of the prize; a frigate repeatedly firing into her without effect, and at last the Spanish Admiral quitted the pursuit of the Minerve for that of la Sabina, who was steering a different course evidently with the intention of attracting the notice of the Admiral, as English colours were hoisted over the Spanish. The Sabina's main and foremast fell overboard before she surrendered. This is, Sir, an unpleasant tale, but the merits of every officer and man in the Minerve and her prize, were eminently conspicuous through the whole of this arduous day.[t] The enemy quitted the pursuit of the Minerve at dark.'

On the 21st of December, 1796, Sir John Jervis officially notified the arrival of part of his fleet in the Tagus, to the Hon. R. Walpole, and that the rest was soon expected: 'When,' added the Admiral, 'I will not lose a moment in facing the combined fleets of France and Spain, wherever they may be. The better to enable me to perform this ser-

[s] *Killed* 7, *wounded* 34, *missing* 4, supposed to be in the prize. *Officers wounded,* Lieutenant J. Noble, Mr. Merryweather, boatswain. *Petty Officers killed and wounded,* one Midshipman killed. Captain's clerk wounded, and the serjeant of the 11th regiment serving as marines.—*Damages.* All her masts shot through, and furniture much cut.

[t] *Killed,* none; *wounded,* 10. *Officer wounded,* Mr. Hunter, gunner.—Main-mast much damaged, sails and rigging much cut.

vice I enclose a few propositions, which I trust will not be found incompatible with the laws and customs of Portugal in like cases.

'The British fleet having kept the sea longer than was ever experienced in the naval history of Europe, and endured excessive fatigue with a scanty pittance of provisions, owing to the uncommon events of the present war; every refreshment that can be procured is essentially necessary to enable the people to undergo the service which the exigency of the times still requires of them. Mr. Walpole is therefore requested to solicit the Court of Portugal, to remove all restraints to their being amply supplied with fresh meat, onions, lemons and vegetables of every description; he is also desired to obtain an order, That all British seamen found ashore after sunset, although they should pretend to belong to merchant ships, or to be Americans, be taken up and secured until an officer is sent from the fleet to examine them. This regulation is the more necessary, because the Americans have made a practice, from the commencement of hostilities to the present hour, to entice the crews of his Majesty's ships to desert, and have given them large bounties when not in actual want of men to navigate their vessels.'—A most bountiful and munificent present was in consequence made to the squadron by the Prince of the Brasils, in the name of the Queen, consisting of oxen, sheep, turkeys, geese, fowls, ducks, wine, cocoa, tea, sugar and vegetables. The expected reinforcement from England had been considerably reduced, and on the 10th of December was still in Portsmouth harbour: 'However,' adds Sir John Jervis, when writing to the Governor of Gibraltar in that month, 'whether it come or not, I will not lie here a moment longer than is necessary to put us to rights; for you well know that inaction in the Tagus must make us all cowards.'

The Commodore in a private letter to his Admiral, Dec. 24, 1796, again urged the claim which their friend Captain Cockburn had for his services, and dwelt with his usual liberality on the promotion of lieutenants Culverhouse and Noble. 'You will, I am sure, forgive me for interesting myself for our friend Cockburn, he is now near ninety short of complement, although I have some hopes that those taken in the prize may be returned to Gibraltar; they are all good men. The gunner of the Petterell is amongst the missing, we hope he is on board the prize: good men were wanting, and probably he pushed himself forward. My coxswain, an invaluable man, is also a prisoner. If you can, pray, Sir, procure some good men for Cockburn, he deserves every favour you are pleased to bestow on him. I take it for granted the Admiralty will promote lieutenant Culverhouse, and I hope lieutenant Noble will also be promoted. I find that both a Spanish squadron of seven sail of the line, and a French squadron of five are out; but where I cannot learn. The French I have on board speak much of the misery in France, they do not however think the Directory will make peace: its members and the Generals eat and take every thing.'

The following Spanish account of the Minerve's action was published at Carthagena,

Dec. 24, 1796. ‘ Contrary to expectation the Spanish fleet came in here to take three months provisions. There have been some broken heads off this place on Tuesday night last; four Spanish frigates the forerunners of Langara's fleet fell in with two English ones, the Minerve and Blanche: the former engaged the Sabina and the latter the Ceres, the Perla ran off and the Matilda could not come up. After an action of three hours, and the Sabina's losing all her masts close with the deck, she struck to the Minerve, who was obliged to take her in tow. Soon afterwards, a three-decker, two ships, and a frigate, came up, when the Minerve was obliged to cut and abandon the prize; but not until they lodged a few shot in the three-decker's side. The Sabina of course was retaken, and in her two lieutenants, Culverhouse and Hardy, and twenty-two men. Stuart who commanded the Sabina was the only person the Minerve had time to take on board. The Spaniards had two officers and forty odd men wounded, and fourteen killed; the Minerve three killed, and six wounded. The Ceres got off from the Blanche to the fleet, and both the English got off; they belong to a squadron of four, and were going to Italy under the command of Commodore Nelson, who had his pendant on board the Minerve. This frigate was one hundred and ten men short of her complement, but her fire the Spaniards say was a perfect hell.’

The Commodore proceeded in the Minerve to Porto Ferrajo; and considering the war as nearly at an end, requested a testimony of past services from Sir Gilbert Elliot, who had long been a witness of the zeal with which they were performed: ‘ I have written to Sir William Hamilton, Mr. Drake, and Mr. Trevor, to ask for public letters of my conduct as it has come under their knowledge, and I trust, when you arrive, I shall not want for your testimony. I feel a fair right to state my conduct, such as it has been, at the end of the war to my Sovereign, who is not slow in rewarding arduous endeavours to serve him.’

The Minerve arrived at Porto Ferrajo on the 27th of December, and was there repaired; her main and mizen-masts were so badly wounded that the builder reported them unfit for use. On the 29th the Commodore sent the Admiral Captain Preston's official account of the share which the Blanche had taken in the late action; by which it appeared, That when the unexpected approach of the fresh Spanish ships had prevented Captain Preston from taking possession of his prize, he wore to join the Minerve; but perceiving that the strange ships did not close with his late antagonist, he had again stood after her, when the Spaniard outsailed the Blanche and had been joined by another ship standing from the land. Captain Preston particularly mentioned the steadiness of his first lieutenant Mr. Cowen, and the great assistance he had received from Captain Maitland who was a passenger on board to join his ship.—On the same day, Dec. 29, Nelson transmitted the following note in a flag of truce by the Fortuna, Lieutenant Gourly, to Don Miguel Gaston the Captain General at Carthagena: ‘ I send your Excellency a flag of truce which carries

every Spanish prisoner from this place, and I request that your Excellency will direct the English prisoners with you to be immediately sent on board. I shall not urge the humanity attending the frequent exchange of unfortunate people; it will, I am sure, appear in the same light to you that it does to your Excellency's most obedient servant, Horatio Nelson.'

On the 29th of December he also transmitted to Sir John Jervis a correspondence with Lieutenant General de Burgh, who not having received any order whatever from England, felt himself considerably embarrassed in withdrawing the army from Elba; and was of opinion that no decisive steps could be taken or entered on, until they had heard from England, Naples, or both, without something serious should precipitate the measure. 'I will at the same time,' added the General, in a letter dated Dec. 28, 'confess that my only motive for urging delay, arises from a wish to have my proceedings in some measure sanctioned by orders we ought to expect, and by no means from an idea that we assist the service by staying here; for I have always held the opinion, that the signing of a Neapolitan peace with France ought to be our signal for departure.'

Commodore Nelson to Lieutenant General de Burgh, dated la Minerve, Dec. 30, 1796.

'Sir: I am honoured with your letter of the 28th, and have most seriously attended to every part of the very wise reasoning contained in it: the difficulty of your deciding on the contrary orders of government, and of guessing what may be their intentions at present, I clearly perceive. But my instructions from Admiral Sir John Jervis, both written and verbal, are so clear that it is impossible for me to mistake a tittle of them, or the sentiments of my Commander in Chief; and I am therefore ready to meet the responsibility: I am positively ordered to execute the King's instructions for carrying the troops to the places destined for them. I am advised that the British fleet will never come to Porto Ferrajo, and that all our naval establishments here are to be immediately withdrawn, which I shall do as expeditiously as possible.

'The King of Naples having made a peace, the Admiral considers his business with the Court of Italy as terminated; and that the point he is now instructed to attend to is the protection of Portugal, therefore the utility of Porto Ferrajo as far as relates to a safe place for our fleet is at an end; what its further political consequence may be, does not come within the sphere of my supposed knowledge; nor of what may happen both in Portugal and Gibraltar from the want of this army. I have sent to collect my squadron, and as soon as they arrive, unless I should receive other orders, I shall offer myself for embarking the troops, stores, &c. and should you decline quitting this post, I shall proceed down the Mediterranean with such ships of war as are not absolutely wanted for keeping open the communication with the continent, supposing the enemy to have no more naval force in this neighbourhood than at present.'

Commodore Nelson to the Rev. Edmund Nelson, dated la Minerve, Jan. 1, 1797.

'My dear Father: On this day I am certain you will send me a letter; may many, very many happy returns of it attend you. My late Action will be in the gazette, and I may venture to say it was what I know the English like. My late prisoner, a descendant from the Duke of Berwick, son of James II, was my brave opponent; for which I have returned him his sword, and sent him in a flag of truce to Spain. I felt it consonant to the dignity of my Country, and I always act as I feel right without regard to custom: he was reputed the best officer in Spain, and his men were worthy of such a Commander, he was the only surviving officer. It has ever pleased Almighty God to give his blessing to my endeavours. With best love to my dear wife, believe me your most dutiful Son.'

In writing to Mrs. Nelson, from Porto Ferrajo, on the 13th, he added, 'I expect Sir Gilbert Elliot here every hour, he goes down to Gibraltar with me; he is a good man, and I love him. As to peace, I do not expect it, Lord Malmesbury will come back as he went; but the people of England will, I trust, be more vigorous for the prosecution of the war, which can alone insure an honourable peace. Naples is alarmed at hers. The French Minister is travelling thither with a train of 300 persons, a printing-press, &c. and a company of comedians, &c. The Pope has not made his peace, and is most seriously alarmed.'

The indefatigable Commodore was at this time extremely anxious to return to Sir John Jervis; the superior strength of the enemy required every addition to be made to his force, and the possibility of being absent when a general Action should take place, under such an Admiral, had long irritated and depressed the mind of Nelson. That nothing might be wanting on his part, he intended in his passage down the Mediterranean, as he informed the Admiral, January 25, 1797, to look into Toulon, Mahon, and Carthagena, in order to bring with him the latest apparent state of the combined fleet; and although General de Burgh had not thought himself empowered to evacuate Porto Ferrajo, 'yet,' adds the Commodore, 'I have notwithstanding withdrawn all our naval establishment from that place, having first completed every ship to as many stores as their Captains pleased to take. Every transport is victualled, and so arranged that all the soldiers and stores can be embarked in three days.' On the same day, January 25, Mr. Graves, agent at the Court of Rome, informed him, that all the ports in the dominions of the Pope were open to the English ships.—The testimony of past services which Nelson had requested from Mr. Drake, bears the same date, and was as follows: 'As our public correspondence will in all probability finish here, I cannot refrain from expressing to you the very high opinion entertained by our Allies of your conspicuous merit; and indeed it is impossible for any one who has had the honour of cooperating with you, not to admire the activity, talents, and zeal which you have so eminently displayed on all occasions,

during the course of a long and arduous service. These sentiments I have frequently had occasion to state to his Majesty's Ministers, as the real ones of all those who have had an opportunity of estimating the value of your services, of which I myself can *never fail to* bear the most honourable testimony.'

By the 27th of January, 1797, the Minerve was completely refitted, and only waited for the weather to become moderate in order to proceed down the Mediterranean. In a letter to Mrs. Nelson on that day, we observe the anxious and devout mind of this extraordinary man thus expressing its sensations: 'My next letter will probably be dated from Lisbon, where I hope to arrive safe with my charge, but in war much is left to Providence: however, as I have hitherto been most successful, confidence tells me I shall not fail: and as nothing will be left undone by me, should I not always succeed, my mind will not suffer; nor will the world, I trust, be willing to attach blame, where my heart tells me none would be due.—Sir Gilbert Elliot and his suite, amongst whom is Colonel Drinkwater, go in la Minerve, therefore I shall be sure of a pleasant party, let what will happen.'

On the 29th of January, the Minerve sailed from Porto Ferrajo, with some other ships of war, and twelve sail of transports; and on the 10th of February arrived at Gibraltar, where the Commodore received Lieutenants Culverhouse and Hardy, with the other prisoners who had been exchanged by the Spaniards. He remained one day at Gibraltar, and then proceeded to the westward to rejoin his Admiral. The Minerve was chased by two Spanish line of battle ships from the bay, and fell in with the Spanish fleet off the mouth of the Straits.

Owing to the easterly winds, it was the 6th of February before Sir John Jervis had reached his station off Cape St. Vincent; and in writing to Mr. Lempriere the Consul at Faro on that day, the Admiral had said, 'I am without the smallest intelligence respecting the movements of the Spanish fleet; its continuance at Carthagena for such a length of time is incomprehensible, unless waiting for supplies of stores and provisions.'—On the 10th he informed Captain Lord Garlies that information had been received of the Spanish fleet having passed the Straits; and had ordered him to join with the squadron under his command. On the 13th of February the Minerve reached the station off Cape St. Vincent, and the same day having communicated some important intelligence to the

(From A Narrative, published by Johnson, 1797, of the Proceedings of the British Fleet on the 14th of February, as observed from the Lively repeating frigate, by Colonel Drinkwater. Nelson in his memoir (page 25) has referred to this accurate letter, which has been occasionally resorted to in the subsequent account of this memorable action. The Colonel informs us, That on the Minerve's joining the British fleet, the Lively frigate was appointed to proceed with Sir Gilbert Elliot, and the gentlemen accompanying him, to England; but there being at that time reason to expect an approaching Action between the two fleets, the Lively, at the joint solicitations of Sir Gilbert Elliot and Lord Garlies, was detained with the squadron until the event should be known.

Admiral respecting the force and situation of the Spanish fleet, the Commodore was directed to shift his broad pendant on board the Captain, R. W. Miller, Esq. Commander. During the same evening Captain Lindsay, in the Bonne Citoyenne sloop, arrived with fresh accounts of the approach of the enemy. Before sunset the signal was made to prepare for battle, and to keep in close order during the night. Further information respecting the Spaniards was also given to the Admiral by Captain Campbell,[x] an Englishman in the Portuguese service, which proved of the utmost importance.

During the whole of the 13th, Sir John Jervis, as he expressed himself on that day in a letter to the Admiralty, had entertained hopes of falling in with the Spanish fleet; and these hopes 'were confirmed that night,' as he says,[y] 'by our distinctly hearing the report of their signal guns, and by intelligence received from Captain Foote of the Niger, who had with equal judgment and perseverance kept company with them for several days on my prescribed rendezvous, which from the strong south-east winds I had never been able to reach, and that they were not more than three or four leagues from us.'

The anxious hours of the night until the dawn of the 14th were passed by the Admiral in meditating a design, which the most determined mind would have hesitated to adopt, without that reliance on the zeal, discipline, and valour of his fleet, and the attachment both of his officers and men, which Sir John Jervis had obtained. Nor would the confidence, as it appeared, which he reposed in these great resources, have alone induced him to make so daring an attempt, which he foresaw nothing short of success could justify: *The honour of his Majesty's arms, and the circumstances of the war in those seas requiring a considerable degree of enterprise,* formed the official defence of the Admiral against the apparent temerity of assailing an enemy so much his superior: a safe and skilful retreat would have satisfied both the expectation of the Country, and the ambition of an ordinary chief. To the bitter mortification of having been forced to yield the Mediterranean to a superior enemy, were to be added many severe losses and disasters against which no foresight could have guarded, and for which no remedy could be provided. The Courageux, 74, had foundered in the Straits; the Gibraltar,[z] 80, forced from her anchorage, had struck on the Pearl rock, and been obliged to return to England; the Zealous, 74, had got on a rock in Tangier bay, and had afterwards proceeded to Lisbon; the Bombay Castle, 74, had been lost on entering the Tagus; and so late as the 18th of January, 1797, the St. George, 98, had grounded in coming out of the Tagus and been compelled to put back. Nor was this all; even after the junction of the reinforcement under Admiral Parker, the

[x] This Officer, who received great kindness from Sir John Jervis, is said to have declared to the Captain of the British fleet, that if he did not lead the Admiral in the right track to fall in with the Spanish fleet, he might order him to be run up at the yard-arm. Some further particulars of Captain Campbell are given in a note in the second volume.

[y] Official account of the action, dated February 16, 1797.

[z] Colonel Drinkwater's Narrative, page 6.

Colossus and Culloden ran aboard of each other, and although the zeal of Captain Troubridge in some degree succeeded in repairing the injury which the latter had received, she was hardly seaworthy and consequently much less able to meet an enemy. The British force consisted of fifteen sail of the line, amongst which were two ships of 100 guns, two of 98, two of 90, eight of 74, and one of 64, with four frigates, a sloop and a cutter. The Spanish fleet was composed of twenty-seven sail of the line, amongst which was one ship of four decks, the Santissima Trinidad, 136 guns, with six three deckers each of 112 guns, two of 84 and eighteen of 74, with ten frigates and a brig.

Such had been the situation of the British Admiral at sunset on the evening of the 13th of February, when the signals of the day terminated with that for directing the Squadron to keep in close order during the night. Nor was the situation of the Spanish Vice Admiral, D. Joseph de Cordova, less critical, notwithstanding his superiority of force. He had sailed from Carthagena the 4th of February, 1797, and on the 5th had passed Gibraltar, when he heard from an American who had fallen in with the English squadron the preceding day, that it consisted of nine ships of the line only, which was indeed the fact at that time; for Admiral Parker with a reinforcement of five ships, and the Culloden which had parted company in chace on the first of February, had not then joined. This information had induced the Spanish Admiral to pass by Cadiz, and seek an engagement with an enemy he deemed so inferior. On the 14th when the day broke, a fog at first concealed from him the exact number of the English squadron; and afterwards, when the signal was made from one of his own look-out ships, that the British fleet was at no great distance; the Spanish Admiral relying on the American's intelligence and erroneously despising the British force, had paid no attention to it, but suffered his ships to remain too far extended and in a certain degree of disorder. The Spanish look-out ship finding her signal thus disregarded, in order to rouse the Admiral, as the Captain of her afterwards expressed himself, instantly made another signal, That the English force consisted of forty sail of the line. This sudden and alarming information had more than its intended effect; it perplexed and confounded the Commander in Chief, and spread a general alarm throughout the Spanish fleet.

Whilst this trepidation pervaded every ship of the enemy, Sir John Jervis, to continue his own words, had anxiously awaited the dawn of day; when being on the starboard tack, Cape St. Vincent bearing east by north eight leagues, he had the satisfaction of seeing a number of ships extending from south west to south, the wind then at west by south. His ships during the night had been kept in the most compact order of sailing,[a] and at daybreak were seen by Colonel Drinkwater from the Lively, formed in two divisions,

[a] So obedient were the Captains to the orders of their Admiral, that every one of the English ships might have been hailed during the night, from the ship next to her.

standing on a wind to the S. S.W.[b] About half past six A. M. the Culloden, Captain Troubridge, made the signal for five sail in the S.W. by S. quarter, which had been soon after confirmed by the Lively frigate, Lord Garlies, and by the Niger, Captain E. J. Foote, and that the [c]strange sail were by the wind on the starboard tack: the Bonne Citoyenne sloop of war, Captain Lindsay, was therefore directed to reconnoitre. At a quarter past eight o'clock the Squadron was ordered by signal to form in close order, and in a few minutes afterwards the signal was repeated to prepare for battle. About half past nine o'clock the Culloden, Blenheim, Captain T. L. Frederick, and Prince George, Admiral Parker, Captain T. Irwin, were ordered to chase in the S. by W. quarter; which ships, upon the Bonne Citoyenne's making a signal that she saw eight sail in that quarter, were afterwards strengthened by the Irresistible, Captain G. Martin, Colossus, Captain G. Murray, and Orion, Sir J. Saumarez.. Soon after ten o'clock the Minerve, Captain G. Cockburn, made the signal for twenty sail in the S. W. quarter, and in a few minutes of eight sail in the S. by W. Half an hour afterwards the Bonne Citoyenne made the signal that she could distinguish sixteen, and immediately afterwards twenty-five of the strange ships, to be of the line. The enemy's fleet were now become visible to all the British squadron. The Spanish ships that had been first discovered by the Culloden were separated from their main body, which being to windward, they were now observed from the Lively frigate bearing down in some confusion with a view of joining. It appeared, adds Colonel Drinkwater, to have been the British Admiral's intention, upon discovering the separated ships of the enemy's fleet, to have cut them off, if possible, before their main body could arrive to their assistance; and with this view the fast sailing ships of his squadron were ordered to chase. Being now assured of the near position of the main body of the enemy, he made the signal to form the line of battle ahead and astern as most convenient, which was followed by a signal for the Squadron to steer S. S. W. At half past eleven A. M. the following positions[d] of the British and Spanish fleets were taken by Colonel Drinkwater. The British squadron appeared formed in line of battle on the starboard tack, advancing to cut off the Spanish ships that were separated from their main body. The British frigates were seen bearing up to pass to leeward of our fleet, with a Portuguese frigate which happened to be in company. The separated Spanish line of battle ships and frigates were observed standing away on the starboard tack, whilst the main body of their fleet bore down in a confused manner to support their ships to leeward; two line of battle ships had advanced from the main body to reconnoitre Sir John Jervis, and a Spanish frigate was seen in the offing joining her fleet.

By carrying a press of sail, Sir John Jervis was fortunate in getting in at this time with

[b] The first plate annexed to Colonel Drinkwater's Narrative represents this position with the utmost exactness.

[c] Colonel Drinkwater's Narrative, page 10.

[d] As given in reference to his second plate.

the enemy's ships, before they had been able to connect and form a regular order of battle: such a moment, as he expressed himself in his official letter, was not to be lost. Confident in the skill, valour and discipline of his officers and men, he felt himself justified in departing from the regular system; and passing through their fleet in a line formed with the utmost celerity, tacked, and thereby separated one third from the main body, after a partial cannonade. The high distinction of leading into action fell to the Culloden, Captain Troubridge; about half past eleven o'clock the firing commenced from his ship against the enemy's headmost ships to windward.

A copy of the log-book of H. M. S. the Captain, Commodore Nelson, gives the following correct relation of her proceedings on the morning of the 14th of February. 'Between two and three o'clock A. M. heard the report of several guns to the southward which we supposed to be the Spanish fleet, as we knew it to be near us. At four, the Victory south one mile; at daylight made the signal for a strange sail to the northward. At half past five heard the report of two guns, S. W. At half past eight set the mainsail. At ten, up mainsail; moderate and foggy. At half past ten saw the Spanish fleet bearing S. S. E. four or five miles; the signal to form the line and chase the enemy. At twenty minutes before twelve the headmost ships of our line began to engage the enemy as they passed us on the other tack, Cape St. Vincent bearing north ten leagues. A few minutes before noon we opened our fire on their leading ship and passed nineteen sail of the line, giving and receiving as we passed, our leading ships having eight of their rear ships to tack by breaking the line.'

The animated and regular fire of the British squadron, as viewed at this time from the Lively frigate by Sir Gilbert Elliot and Colonel Drinkwater,[e] was but feebly returned by the enemy's ships to windward, which being frustrated in their attempts to join the separated division, had been obliged to haul their wind on the larboard tack: those to leeward, and which were most effectually cut off from their main body, attempted also to form on their larboard tack, apparently with a determination of either passing through, or to leeward of our line, and joining their friends; but the warm reception they met with from the centre ships of our Squadron, soon obliged them to put about, and excepting one, the whole sought safety in flight, and did not again appear in the action until the close of the day. It was now noon, when the following were the positions of the respective fleets, as noted by Colonel Drinkwater in his third plate, a little after twelve o'clock. The British fleet appeared passing through the enemy's line, and the Culloden was seen tacking to engage the main body of the enemy to windward. The main body of the Spanish fleet, having passed the British on the larboard tack, was observed to bear up with an apparent design of joining their division to leeward, and after a vain attempt they were seen to

[e] Colonel Drinkwater's Narrative, page 12.

wear and sheer off from the steady and overcoming fire of our ships. In the offing, at a distance from the Spanish division that was cut off from the main body, was discerned one of their large ships which had set sail at the commencement of the action, and soon disappeared to leeward.

But to proceed with the narrative. The single Spanish ship which was mentioned by Colonel Drinkwater as not having put about with her companions, is described by him as persevering in passing to leeward of the British line, and being covered with smoke her intention was not discovered until she had reached the rear; when she was not permitted to pass without notice, but received the fire of our sternmost ships, and as she luffed round the rear, the Lively and other frigates had also the honour of exchanging with this two-decker several broadsides.

A part of the Admiral's plan having been thus crowned with success, he was now able to direct his attention to the enemy's main body to windward, consisting at this time of eighteen sail of the line. At eight minutes[f] past twelve the signal therefore was made for the British fleet to tack in succession, and soon after he made the signal for again passing the enemy's line. The Spanish Admiral's plan seemed to have been to join his ships to leeward, by wearing round the rear of our line, and the ships which had passed and exchanged shots with our squadron, had actually borne up with this view. This design of D. Joseph de Cordova, more ably conceived than executed, was frustrated by the extraordinary presence of mind and enterprise of Commodore Nelson, whose station in the rear of the British line afforded him an opportunity of observing this manœuvre of the Spaniards; and who, well knowing that his Commander in Chief allowed a considerable degree of discretion to the gallantry and judgment of his approved officers, executed the following bold and decisive exploit, without dreading any signal of recal. 'At eighteen minutes before one P. M.' according to the Commodore's Log-book, 'the Captain having passed on the starboard tack the last of the enemy's line of nineteen sail, which were on the larboard tack, the Spanish Admiral in the Santissima Trinidad bore up, evidently with a design to join a division of his fleet of eight sail of the line which were on the Captain's lee-bow, on which the Commodore ordered the ship to be wore; when, passing between the Diadem and Excellent, she was immediately engaged by the Santissima Trinidad, a four-decked ship, and two other three-deckers and several two-deckers; so that at one time we were engaged by nine line of battle ships, in which we were most nobly supported by Captain Troubridge of the Culloden. The Spanish Admiral desisted from his attempt of joining his other division, and hauled to the wind on the larboard tack. About two P. M. the Culloden having got between us and the enemy we ceased firing about ten minutes, till we got ahead of her and became engaged as before. Employed the interval in reple-

[f] Colonel Drinkwater's Narrative, page 13.

nishing our shot and repairing our rigging. About half past two, our sails and rigging being almost cut to pieces, the Blenheim passed between us and the enemy: employed as before while our fire ceased. At three we came to engage several of the enemy's line, particularly the San Josef and San Nicolas; saw a Spanish two decker strike to the Excellent, soon after we shot away the mizen-mast of the San Josef, which caused her to fall on board the San Nicolas to windward. At half past three the Excellent passed us to windward, engaging the San Josef within pistol shot as she passed by; on which she and the San Nicolas fell on board of each other. The San Josef having lost her mizen mast, the Captain, whose foretop-mast was at this time shot away, immediately luffed alongside; prepared for boarding, and having engaged very sharply for a few minutes, in which we had fifteen men killed and wounded, the Commodore ordered the ship to be laid on board, when himself, [h] Captain Berry, Noble, and Pierson, and Messrs. Samwell, Withers, and Williams, Midshipmen, at the head of the boarders and troops, entered on board the San Nicolas on the starboard quarter, and from her boarded the San Josef and hauled down the colours at five minutes before four o'clock: the latter mounting 112 guns, Rear Admiral Winthuysen, and the former 84 guns, Commodore Geraldino; they were both mortally wounded and died soon after the action ceased. Commodore Nelson put Captain Berry in charge of the San Josef, and Lieutenant Spicer of the San Nicolas, with 150 men in each ship: found the latter on fire, but extinguished it. At five, all firing ceased. While we were entangled with both ships, found the San Nicolas to be on fire again in the fore-hold; but it was happily extinguished by our firemen. The Commodore afterwards went on board the Irresistible."

A more circumstantial and animated account of this memorable enterprise of Nelson, was drawn up by himself and transmitted to his friend the Duke of Clarence with a short note, in which the Commodore said, 'The praises and honours of my Admiral tell me I may relate my tale: I therefore send your Royal Highness,

A few Remarks relative to myself in the Captain, in which my Pendant was flying on the most glorious Valentine's Day.

'At one P. M. the Captain having passed the sternmost of the enemy's ships which formed their van and part of their centre, consisting of seventeen sail of the line, they on the larboard, we on the starboard tack; the Admiral made the signal to tack in succession: but perceiving the Spanish fleet to bear up before the wind or nearly so, evidently with an intention of forming their line going large, and joining their separated division at that time engaged with some of our centre ships, or flying from us; to prevent either of their schemes from taking effect I ordered the ship to be wore, and passing between the Diadem, Captain G. W. Towry, and Excellent, Captain C. Collingwood, at a quarter past one o'clock, was in close action with the headmost and of course leewardmost of the

[h] Recently promoted; but still serving with the Commodore as a Volunteer.

Spanish division. The ships which I knew, were the Santissima Trinidad 136, San Josef 112, Salvador del Mundo 112, San Nicolas 80, San Isidro 74, with another first rate and a 74, names not known. I was immediately joined and most nobly supported by the Culloden, Captain Troubridge. The Spanish fleet from not wishing, I suppose, to have a decisive battle, hauled to the wind on the larboard tack, which brought the ships abovementioned to be the leewardmost in their fleet. For near an hour, I believe, but do not pretend to be correct as to time, did the Culloden and Captain support this apparently, but not really unequal contest; when the Blenheim, Captain T. L. Frederick; passing between us and the enemy, gave us a respite and sickened the Dons: At this time the Salvador del Mundo and San Isidro dropped astern, and were fired into in a masterly style by the Excellent, who compelled the San Isidro to hoist English colours, and I thought the large ship Salvador del Mundo had also struck: but Captain Collingwood disdaining the parade of taking possession of beaten enemies, most gallantly pushed up with every sail set to save his old friend and messmate, who was to appearance in a critical situation; the Captain at this time being actually fired upon by three first rates and the San Nicolas and a seventy-four, within about pistol shot distance of the San Nicolas. The Blenheim being ahead and the Culloden crippled, and astern, the Excellent ranged up, and hauling up her mainsail just astern, passed within ten feet of the San Nicolas, giving her a most awful and tremendous fire. The San Nicolas luffing up, the San Josef fell on board her, and the Excellent passing on for the Santissima Trinidad, the Captain resumed her station abreast of them and close alongside. At this time the Captain having lost her foretop-mast, not a sail, shroud, or rope left, her wheel shot away, and incapable of further service in the line, or in chace, I directed Captain Miller to put the helm a starboard, and calling for the Boarders ordered them to board.

'The soldiers of the 69th regiment with an alacrity which will ever do them credit, and Lieutenant Pierson of the same regiment, were amongst the foremost on this service. The first man who jumped into the enemy's mizen chains was Captain Berry, late my first Lieutenant; Captain Miller was in the very act of going also, but I directed him to remain; he was supported from our spritsail yard which hooked in the San Nicolas's mizen rigging. A soldier of the 69th regiment having broke the upper quarter gallery window, jumped in, followed by myself and others as fast as possible. I found the cabin doors fastened, and the Spanish officers fired their pistols at us through the windows; but having burst open the doors the soldiers fired, and the Spanish Brigadier (Commodore with a distinguishing pendant) fell as retreating to the quarter deck on the larboard side near the wheel. Having pushed on to the quarter deck, I found Captain Berry in possession of the poop, and the Spanish Ensign hauling down. I passed with my people and Lieutenant Pierson on the larboard gangway to the forecastle, where I met two or three Spanish officers prisoners to my seamen, and they delivered me their swords: at this moment

a fire of pistols, or musquets, opening from the Admiral's stern gallery in the San Josef, I directed the soldiers to fire into her stern. Our seamen by this time were in full possession of every part of the ship; about seven of my men were killed and some few wounded, and about twenty Spaniards. Having placed centinels at the different ladders, and calling to Captain Miller ordering him to send more men into the San Nicolas, I directed my brave fellows to board the first rate, the San Josef, which was done in an instant, Captain Berry assisting me into the main chains. At this moment a Spanish Officer looked over the quarter-deck rail and said they surrendered; from this most welcome intelligence it was not long before I was on the quarter-deck, when the Spanish Captain with a bended knee presented me his sword, and told me the Admiral was dying of his wounds below. I asked him on his honour, if the ship were surrendered? he declared she was; on which I gave him my hand, and desired him to call to his officers and ship's company and tell them of it, which he did; and on the quarter-deck of a Spanish first rate, extravagant as the story may seem, did I receive[i] the swords of vanquished Spaniards; which as I received I gave to William Fearney, one of my bargemen, who put them with the greatest sangfroid under his arm. One of my sailors now took me by the hand, saying, *He might not soon have such another place to do it in*, and assuring me he was most heartily glad to see me there. I was surrounded by Captain Berry, Lieutenant Pierson 69th regiment, John Sykes, John Thompson, Francis Cook, and William Fearney, all old Agamemnons, and several other brave men, seamen and soldiers: thus fell their ships. The Victory passing saluted us with three cheers, as did every ship in the fleet. The Minerve[k] being sent by the Admiral to my assistance, I went on board her and directed Captain Cockburn to hoist my pendant and carry me to the van, and place me on board any of the line of battle ships then engaged; however, before this could be effected, the signal being made to wear and discontinue the action, I went with Captain Cockburn on board the Victory, when the Admiral received me on the quarter-deck, and having embraced me, said he could not sufficiently thank me, and used every kind expression which could not fail to make me happy. From the Victory I went to the Irresistible, 74, Captain G. Martin, who was ordered to hoist my pendant as my own ship was completely disabled, and she was then taken in tow by the Minerve. My bruises were now looked at and found but trifling, and a few days made me as well as ever.'

The ship's Log-book thus continues the official account of the proceedings of the Captain, after Nelson had gone on board the Irresistible: 'At six got clear of the prizes. Wore to join the fleet, having been between them and the enemy, who stood towards us with a fresh breeze, but hauled their wind again. Employed cutting away the remnant

[i] The Commodore had originally written, 'with William Fearney one of my bargemen as my aide de camp,' but he afterwards drew his pen across it.

[k] Some additions have been made from the original found among the Nelson papers.

of the foresail and clearing the wreck of the fore top-mast. At seven the Minerve took us in tow; our standing and running rigging with all the bending sails being cut to pieces, our wheel, foretop-mast and foretop shot away, and our masts severely wounded, the main-mast having three shot through the heart. Employed filling powder and replenishing shot, knotting and splicing, and to get ready for battle again as soon as possible. Found that another ship of 112 guns, the San Salvador del Mundo, and the San Isidro, 74 guns, had struck to our fleet. Our frigates took them in tow. Found we had twenty-four men killed and fifty-six wounded. In the Spanish prizes we took, the slaughter must have been very great, as there were people employed all night throwing the dead overboard.'—The positions of the respective fleets in the evening are thus given by Colonel Drinkwater: 'The British was formed in a line of battle ahead, the prizes and disabled ships being to leeward in tow of the frigates; the San Isidro, which was the first Spanish ship that struck, was in charge of the Lively. The Spanish fleet is represented to windward in great confusion; and between both squadrons was stationed the Niger, Captain Foote, as the look-out frigate.

On the following day the Commodore was gratified by receiving a letter from his old messmate, Captain Collingwood, dated Excellent, Feb. 15, 1797. 'My dear good friend: First let me congratulate you on the success of yesterday, on the brilliancy it attached to the British Navy, and the humility it caused to its enemies; and then let me congratulate my dear Commodore on the distinguished part he ever takes when the honour and interests of his Country are at stake. It added very much to the satisfaction which I felt in thumping the Spaniards, that I released you a little. The highest rewards are due to you and Culloden: you formed the plan of attack, we were only accessories to the Dons' ruin; for had they got on the other tack they would have been sooner joined and the business would have been less complete. We have come off pretty well considering, eleven killed and fourteen wounded. You saw the Spanish four-decker going off this morning to Cadiz; she should have come to Lagos to make the thing better, but we could not brace our yards up to get nearer. I beg my compliments to Captain Martin, I think he was at Jamaica when we were. I am ever, my dear friend, affectionately yours.'[l]

Sir Gilbert Elliot in a letter,[m] from on board the Lively, to the Commodore on the same day, said, 'Nothing in the world was ever more noble, than the transactions of the Captain from beginning to end, and the glorious group[n] of your ship and her two prizes fast in your gripe was never surpassed, and I dare say never will. I am grieved to learn that you are wounded, however slightly you talk of it. I was in hopes of your being unhurt by seeing you on board the Minerve, and hearing the cheers you were saluted with. God bless you, my dear friend, since you let me call you so.'

[l] From the Nelson Collection. [m] Ibid.

[n] As represented in the Vignette to the second book, by Mr. Pocock, from a sketch by Captain Miller.

The result of this memorable day is well known, and has been often faithfully narrated. On board the Captain, Major William Norris of the marines and Mr. James Goodench, a midshipman, were killed,[n] with twenty-two of the ship's company: and two officers with fifty-four of the crew were wounded. The loss of the whole Squadron in killed and wounded, amounted to three hundred. The Captain, according to Colonel Drinkwater, fired more shot than is usually given to a ship of her rate at her first equipment; and it was observed that when shot or grape was wanting on board this ship for the carronades, the seamen substituted in their place some nine-pounders, seven of which were frequently discharged at one time and at so short a distance, that every shot must have done execution: the Captain expended 146 barrels of powder, the Culloden 170, the Blenheim 180, and the other ships in the same proportion. If it had not been for the approach of night, the Santissima Trinidad, which carried the Spanish Admiral's flag, would certainly have been taken, as she was reduced to a perfect wreck: Colonel Drinkwater gives it as his opinion, that the close of the day before the four prizes were secured, undoubtedly saved the Spanish Admiral's flag from falling into our hands; 'the Santissima Trinidad, in which he carried it, had been so much the object of attention, that the ship was a perfect wreck when the action ceased. Many indeed aver that she actually struck both her flag and ensign, displaying a white flag as a signal of submission; but as she continued her course and afterwards hoisted a Spanish jack, others doubt that circumstance. It is however a truth that her fire had been silent for some time before this event is reported to have occurred.'—A little before four o'clock P. M. Sir John Jervis made the preparative and soon after the signal for the British fleet to bring-to, in consequence of the approach of the enemy's division which had been separated from their main body in the morning; two fresh ships were also bearing down from to windward, and two of their flying ships were wearing to support their Chief, who was severely pressed.

The judicious termination of this glorious Action displayed that vigilant and collected mind so conspicuous in the character of Sir John Jervis, which was equally unimpaired by the anxiety that preceded the battle, or the success that followed it: for had the signal to bring-to been delayed even five minutes longer, his prizes would have been placed in a very dangerous situation, and possibly might have reverted into the hands of the enemy. From the situation of both fleets, our ships could not have formed without abandoning the prizes and running to leeward, the enemy having at that time at least eighteen or nineteen ships which had suffered little or no injury, whilst the Captain was lying a perfect wreck on board the San Nicolas and San Josef, and many of our other ships were so shattered in their masts and rigging as to be wholly ungovernable.[o] The Salvador del

[n] See Appendix, N° VI. for the list of ships composing the British and Spanish fleets, with an account of the killed and wounded.

[o] Naval Chronicle, Vol. IV. page 37.

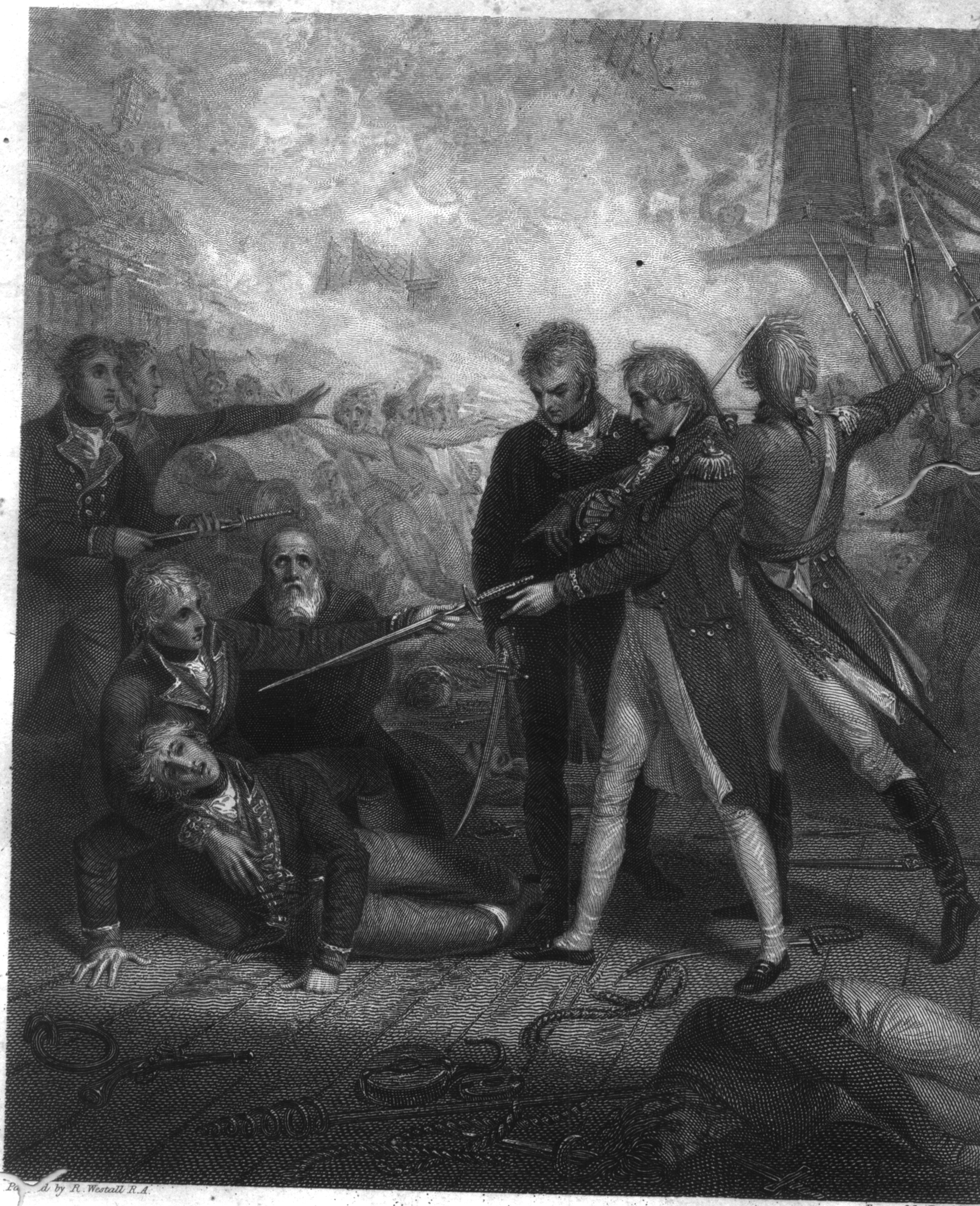
Mundo, 112, the San Josef, 112, the San Nicolas, 84, and the San Isidro, 74 guns, accompanied our fleet to Lagos bay.

On the 16th of February, 1797, Sir John Jervis whilst in Lagos bay issued his general thanks to the officers of his Squadron, declaring, 'That no language he was possessed of could convey the high sense which he entertained of their exemplary conduct, and that the late signal victory was entirely to be attributed to their determined valour and discipline.' On the same day he also sent the following private letter, with his official dispatch, to Lord Spencer. 'My Lord: The correct conduct of every officer and man in the Squadron on the 14th instant, made it improper to distinguish one more than another in my public letter, because I am confident that had those who were least in action been in the situation of the fortunate few, their behaviour would not have been less meritorious. Yet to your Lordship it becomes me to state, that Captain Troubridge in the Culloden led the Squadron through the enemy in a masterly style, and tacked the instant the signal flew; and was gallantly supported by the Blenheim, Prince George, Orion, Irresistible, and Colossus. The latter had her fore and fore top-sail yards wounded, and they unfortunately broke in the slings in stays, which threw her out and impeded the tacking of the Victory. Commodore Nelson, who was in the rear on the starboard tack, took the lead on the larboard, and contributed very much to the fortune of the day, as did Captain Collingwood; and, in the close, the San Josef and San Nicolas having fallen foul of each other, the Captain laid them on board, and Captain Berry, who served as a volunteer, entered at the head of the boarders, and Commodore Nelson followed immediately and took possession of them both.'

A few days after the arrival of the Squadron in Lagos bay, they experienced what seamen term the tail of a gale of wind; which if it had blown home, every ship and man would probably have been lost, as most of the ships from the badness of the anchorage drove or cut their cables. On the 23d of February they sailed from Lagos, and arrived at Lisbon on the 28th, after passing near Cape St. Vincent, which station the Spanish fleet consisting of twenty-two sail of the line had quitted the evening before. The enemy arrived at Cadiz the 3d of March; and as Sir John Jervis, then in the Tagus, informed General de Burgh, the rumour was that they would put to sea again the latter end of the month; but added the Admiral, 'As several of them are very much mauled, I think I shall appear off Cadiz before they can possibly be ready.'

Commodore Nelson to Mr. Windham, Member for Norwich, dated Irresistible, off Lisbon, February 26, 1797.

'Sir: Particular circumstances having put the Spanish Rear Admiral's sword, Don Xavier Francisco Winthuysen, into my hands on the most glorious 14th of February, and Admiral Sir John Jervis having done me the honour of insisting on my keeping possession



Painted by R. Westall R.A.

Engraved by R. Golding.

THE SAN NICOLAS & SAN JOSEF, CARRIED BY BOARDING FEBRUARY 14.th 1797.

of it, I know no place where it would give me or my family more pleasure to have it kept, than in the capital city of the county in which I had the honour to be born. If therefore you think, Sir, that the Mayor and Corporation of Norwich[p] would wish to accept such a present, I have to request that you as a Representative of Norwich would send my letter and the box containing the sword to the Mayor.'—This valuable relic was received by the Mayor and Corporation with every respect, and is placed in the council chamber of their Guildhall with an inscription and various ornamental devices.

Commodore Nelson to Mrs. Nelson, dated Irresistible, Lisbon, Feb. 28, 1797.

'We got up here with our prizes this afternoon; the more I think of our late Action the more I am astonished; it absolutely appears a dream. The Santissima Trinidad of four decks lost 500 killed and wounded; had not my ship been so cut up, I would have had her; but it is well, thank God for it. As to myself I assure you I never was better, and rich in the praises of every man from the highest to the lowest in the fleet. The Spanish war will give us a cottage and a piece of ground, which is all I want. I shall come one day or other laughing back, when we will retire from the busy scenes of life: I do not however mean to be a hermit, the Dons will give us a little money. If my Father should at any time wish for any part that is in my agent's hands, I beg he would always take it; for that would give me more real pleasure than buying house or land. I go to sea the day after to-morrow in this ship with a Squadron to be off Cadiz, consisting of the Irresistible, Orion, &c. Sir John Jervis has already spread the frigates; and I shall return by the time his fleet is ready for sea.'

The manner in which Nelson was thus uniformly selected by his Admiral to command a detached Squadron, was peculiarly gratifying, and heightened that reciprocal confidence and friendship between them, which rendered such important service to the general cause. On leaving the Tagus with this Squadron to watch the motions of the enemy, the Commodore had also in view to intercept a rich Spanish ship, which was to convey the Viceroy of Mexico and his treasures to Old Spain.—On the 12th of March, he spoke a vessel from Gibraltar, which informed him that the Spanish officers and seamen had been pelted and hooted by the mob at Cadiz. 'It is almost a pity,' said he in his letter to the Admiral, 'to give the Viceroy a chance of eluding our vigilance; as yet we have never covered a less space than from twelve to twenty-eight leagues. Respecting myself I wish to stay at sea, and as I have directed Captain Miller to provide me with every thing necessary, whether in the Captain or in any other ship, I beg if any line of battle ships are left out, either on

[p] In an assembly that was in consequence held at Norwich May 3, 1797, this Sword was brought in by the Chamberlain, and a letter sent by the Commodore to the Mayor was read. On which the assembly unanimously returned their thanks, and ordered that the honorary Freedom of their City should be presented to the illustrious Donor.

this side of the straits, or to the eastward of Gibraltar, that I may be the man: and this brings forward a subject which I own is uppermost in my mind, the safety of our troops; should they embark from Elba, the French have a number of ships at Toulon, and may get two, three, or four ready with a number of frigates, and make a push for our Convoy. I am willing, as you know, to go eastward to cover them even to Porto Ferrajo, or off Toulon, or Minorca, as you may judge proper; and if they are on their passage you will not, I presume, go to the westward until they arrive at Gibraltar. I have said much, but you have spoiled me by allowing me to speak and write freely; yet be assured I mean nothing further than my wish to undertake this service if you approve of it.'—It was thus that Sir John Jervis gave full scope to the abilities and zeal of Nelson; they must have been thwarted and chilled by the trammels in which an inferior mind would have expected its subordinates to pace.

The Commodore in a letter to Mr. M'Arthur, March 16, 1797, has preserved a little of what was said at Cadiz, after the defeat of their fleet: The flame of patriotism had not then awakened the national valour and ancient character of Spain: 'Their first report was, That the action happening on a foggy day, when the fog cleared up they only saw fifteen sail of the British line, and therefore concluded that at least five were sunk. My usual good fortune attended me, which I know will give you amongst my other friends satisfaction: I only got on board the Captain at seven o'clock in the evening of the 13th. I am now off Lagos bay with three sail of the line looking for the Viceroy of Mexico, who has two first rates and a 74 with him, but the larger the ship the better the mark.'

Sir J. Jervis, K. B. to Commodore Nelson, dated Victory, Tagus, March 21, 1797.

'Sir: In obedience to the commands of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, by far the pleasantest I ever received, I have the honour to convey to you personally His Majesty's most gracious approbation of your distinguished services in the Action with the fleet of Spain on the 14th of February, signified through Earl Spencer to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty.'—Sir John Jervis also transmitted the thanks of both Houses of Parliament, and of the Corporation of London.

In a letter to H. R. H. the Duke of Clarence, dated off Cape St. Vincent, March 22d, Nelson wrote as he was wont to do without reserve; giving an account of the critical situation of the fleet until the reinforcement arrived, and excusing himself to his Royal Highness's strict regard for discipline, in having presumed to give advice to the Commander in Chief: 'Sir: The Spanish fleet went into Cadiz on the 3d of the month, the Santissima-Trinidad with them: they acknowledge she had struck, but that a seventy-four sent a boat on board and hoisted her colours again, which they give as a reason why she did not lay her head towards our fleet. I feel a great satisfaction in this account being confirmed, as I believe all will allow that I had more action with her than any ship in our fleet; and

I am sure your Royal Highness will have pleasure in likewise knowing, that my conduct has not escaped the notice of the Spanish fleet, who now in Cadiz do justice to the broad pendant.

'I am looking out with an anxious eye for the Viceroy of Mexico, but I fear he will go to Teneriffe. The Spanish fleet is, fit and unfit, thirty sail of the line in Cadiz; and I suppose twenty will be ready for sea by the first week in April. I am assured fifteen sail of the line are ordered to Ferrol, and both squadrons are destined for Brest, making thirty sail from the two ports of Cadiz and Ferrol. I trust Sir John Jervis will be reinforced: at present his situation is not very pleasant. Eighteen two-decked ships are to perform two services; at least this is what strikes me as necessary, viz. to see our army safe from Elba, and to prevent the Spanish fleet sailing with impunity from Cadiz. If Sir John stays off Cadiz, the French will push out two or three sail of the line and most probably take our army; if he goes into the Straits, the detachment from Cadiz gets unmolested to Ferrol: here is a choice of difficulties. I have ventured to propose to the Admiral, letting me go with two or three sail of the line off Toulon, or to Elba, as may be necessary, and for the fleet to stay outside. I beg your Royal Highness will not think that I am in the habit of advising my Commander in Chief; but Sir John Jervis has spoiled me by encouraging me to give my opinion freely: knowing that it is not impertinence in me, I have thought it right to say thus much.

'An American who left Cadiz two days past tells us, that Cordova is sent to Madrid as a prisoner, and that every Admiral and Captain are under arrest, until their conduct can be enquired into; and it is said they are determined to fight us again. Captain Oakes is now at my elbow, and desires me to say every respectful thing for him.'

In some previous letters to Sir John Jervis, Nelson had alluded to the expectation of a promotion of Flag Officers, which had long prevailed in the Mediterranean. This event had taken place at home on the 20th of February, 1797, six days after the late glorious action with the Spaniards, when the Commodore had been advanced to the rank of Rear Admiral. As no account however of this promotion reached Sir John Jervis until the end of March, the title of Commodore has been retained whilst his broad pendant continued flying; on the striking of which, the second period of the life of this illustrious Naval Officer is concluded. What a career of glory and of perilous service has been pursued, since he left the humble parsonage of Burnham Thorpe in the year 1793; and hitherto without any of those attendant shades, which so often appear in the conduct of men of extraordinary genius and zealous dispositions. An high sense of the principles of Revealed Religion, a love for his venerable father and the chosen partner of his life, and an unwearied regard for the honour of his King and Country, are visible throughout the whole

period. The following letters which about this time were addressed to him by his Commander Sir John Jervis, by his early friend and second mother Lady Parker, and by his Father, may give an additional interest to the close of this second book of his life, and connect it with the important and brilliant career that succeeds.

From Admiral Sir John Jervis, dated Ville de Paris, Lisbon, March 31, 1797.

'My dear Admiral: Many thanks for your letters, and the intelligence sent you from Lagos. By a letter I received yesterday from the neighbourhood of it I learn, that Gravina is working hard to get the fleet forward: eighteen sail of the line and several frigates appeared ready for sea on the 23d, and the report at Cadiz was, that they would sail to-morrow; therefore keep a sharp look out. The arrival of Sir Robert Calder has detained me three days longer than I intended, to deliver his ship from a large quantity of useful stores, and to remove myself and suite into the Ville de Paris. I hope to get over the bar with most of the Squadron in the course of this day. The rich ships from la Vera Cruz and the Havannah are certainly on their passage, and much agitation is felt in Spain on that account; therefore Gravina may be forced out. The Spanish Chargè here sent an express to Madrid on Monday, to give an account of the reinforcement from England, and of my dropping down below the Castle in the Victory: whether this will produce a change of intention we shall soon see. All here send you their best regards: say every thing proper for us to Captain Miller and your Worthies, and be assured I am yours most truly, J. Jervis.'

From Lady Parker,[p] *dated Portsmouth, March* 15, 1797.

'My dear Nelson: I cannot let Sir Robert Calder sail from hence without writing you a few lines. There are no expressions in the English language, that I am acquainted with, equal to convey the idea which I have of your gallant and meritorious exertions in your Country's cause upon all occasions. Your conduct on the memorable 14th of February, a proud day for Old England, is above all praise; it never was, nor ever can be equalled. All that I shall say is, that your Mother could not have heard of your deeds with more affection, nor could she be more rejoiced at your personal escape from all the dangers to which you were exposed on that glorious day. Long may you live, my dear Nelson, an ornament to your Country and your profession, is the sincere wish of your old Commander Sir Peter and myself, and every branch of our family. Pray offer my most affectionate regards to your truly able and gallant Commander in Chief; he shall henceforth be my Valentine. I must request you also to remember me to dear good Collingwood in the kindest manner, I am very happy at the glory he has gained: remember me also to George Martin, and the whole of the Invincible Fifteen that I have the honour of knowing. God bless you, my dear Nelson, your affectionate and sincere friend, Margaret Parker.'

[p] From the Nelson Papers.

From the Rev. Edmund Nelson.

'My dear Rear Admiral: I thank my God with all the power of a grateful soul for the mercies he has most graciously bestowed on me, in preserving you amidst the imminent perils which so lately threatened your life at every moment; and amongst other innumerable blessings I must not forget the bounty of Heaven, in granting you a mind that rejoices in the practice of those eminent virtues which form great and good *characters*. Not only my few acquaintances here, but the people in general met me at every corner with such handsome words, that I was obliged to retire from the public eye. A wise Moralist has observed, that even bliss can rise but to a certain pitch, and this has been verified in me. The height of glory to which your professional judgment, united with a proper degree of bravery guarded by Providence, has raised you, few Sons, my dear child, attain to, and fewer Fathers live to see. Tears of joy have involuntarily trickled down my furrowed cheek. Who could stand the force of such general congratulation? The name and services of Nelson have sounded throughout the city of Bath,[q] from the common ballad singer to the public theatre. Joy sparkles in every eye, and desponding Britain draws back her sable veil and smiles. It gives me inward satisfaction to know, that the laurels you have wreathed sprung from those principles and religious truths which alone constitute the Hero; and though a Civic Crown is all you at present reap, it is to the mind of inestimable value, and I have no doubt will one day bear a Golden Apple: That field of glory in which you have long been so conspicuous is still open. May God continue to be your preserver from the arrow that flieth by day, and the pestilence that walketh by night. I am your affectionate Father, Edmund Nelson.'

[q] The honorary Freedom of the City was voted to him March 20, 1797, as a testimony of its high esteem for his brave conduct under Admiral Sir John Jervis, in the late gallant action with the Spanish fleet.

END OF THE SECOND BOOK, AND THE FIRST VOLUME.

APPENDIX.

PUBLICK LIBRARY CALCUTTA

APPE

Pedigree of the Nelson Family, registered

William Nelson descended by family tradition from the ancient house of that name, which was seated at Maudesley, in Lancashire before the of James the First.

Thomas Nelson, of Scarning, in the county of Norfolk, born there, circa 1590.

Edmund Nelson, of Scarning aforesaid, born circa 1625.

William Nelson, of Dunham Parva, in the county of Norfolk, born at Scarning in 1654, died at Dunham Parva aforesaid, 27th Jan. 1713, aged 59, buried at Sporle, same county. — Mary, daughter of Thomas Shene, born at Dunham aforesaid, in 1652, died 3d Jan. 1731, aged 79, bur Dunham Parva.

- Thomas Nelson, of Sporle aforesaid, eldest son, born at Scarning aforesaid, 19 July, 1683, died 22d April, 1762, aged 79, buried at Sporle.
- William Nelson, of Dunham Parva aforesaid, second son, born at Scarning aforesaid, 18th Feb. 1688, died 29th Jan. 1775, aged 87, buried at Dunham Parva.
- Edmund Nelson, Clerk, born at Dunham Parva aforesaid 4th November, 1693, Rector of Hilborough, co. Norfolk, died 23d Oct. 1747, ætat. 54; buried at Hilborough. — Mary, daughter of John Blar Cambridge, Gent. born 24th 1688, married 23d April, 1 died 4th July, 1789, ætat. buried at Hilborough.

- John Nelson, born in the parish of Hilborough 16 June, 1736, second son, died abroad unmarried.
- Thomazine Nelson, third daughter, born at East Bradenham, co. Norfolk, married John Goulty of Norwich, Gent.
- Mary Nelson, eldest daughter, died in March 1800, buried at Hilborough.
- Alice Nelson, second daughter, East Bradenham aforesaid, marr Robert Rolfe, Rector of Hil aforesaid; he died 9 May, 1785

- Anne Nelson died at Bath Ford, co. Somerset, in November, 1784, unmarried.
- Geo. Matcham, of Ringwood, co. Hants, Esq.
- Catherine Nelson born 19th Nov. 1768, married Feb. 26, 1787.
- Edmund Nelson, born 4th June, 1763, died at BurnhamThorpe, co. Norfolk, in October 1786, unmarried.
- Suckling Nelson, of Burnham Thorpe, Clerk, born 5 Jan. 1764.
- Thomas Bolton, of Cranwich, co. Norfolk, Esq. b. at Coddenham, in the said county, 11 Decemb. 1752.
- Susannah Nelson, married at Burnham Thorpe aforesaid, 5th August, 1780.
- Horatio Nelson at Swafham, infant 1750, bu Hilborough.

- George Matcham born Nov. 7th, 1789.
- Henry Savage Matcham, born Feb. 4th, 1791.
- Catharine Matcham born July, 1792.
- Edmund Nelson Matcham, born 28th Nov. 1793.
- Anne Bolton, died an infant, bur. at Wells, co. Norfolk.
- Anne Bolton, baptized Oct. 30th, 1791.
- Jemima Susanna Bolton, baptized at Wells aforesaid, 20th Nov. 1781.
- Elizabeth baptized 1789.

- Elizabeth Matcham, born May 6th, 1795.
- Francis Griffith Matcham, born July 15th, 1796.
- Mary Anne Matcham, born Sept. 20, 1797.
- Thomas Bolton, born in the parish of Saint Michael's at Norwich, 7th July, 1786.
- George Bolton, baptized at Norwich, 10th Nov. 1787.

X, N° 1.

Genealogical Books of the Order of the Bath.

obert Walpole, eldest son of Sir Edward Walpole K.B. Member of Parliament or the Borough of Castle Rising, Deputy Lieutenant and Colonel of the Norolk Militia, died 18th Nov. 1700. = Mary, only daughter and heir of Sir Jeffery Burwell, of Rougham, county Norfolk, Knight, died 14 March, 1711, buried at Houghton.

- ir Charles Turner, of Warham, ounty Norfolk, aronet. = Mary, eldest daughter, married in April, 1689.
- Dorothy Walpole, second daughter, married Charles Lord Viscount Townshend.
- Susan Walpole, third daughter, married Anthony Hammond, of Wotton, co. Norfolk, Esq.
- Sir Robert Walpole, K.B. and K.G. eldest son, born 26th May, 1674, created Baron of Houghton, Viscount Walpole, and Earl of Orford, by patent, 9 Feb. 1742, ob. 9, Mar. 1745 6. = Catharine, eldest daughter of John Shorter, of Bybrook, county Kent, Esq. died 23d Aug. 1737, buried at Houghton.
- Horatio Walpole, Ambassador Extraordinary to the Court of France in 1721 created Baron Walpole, of Wolterton, co. Norfolk, by patent, dated 4 June, 1756, bur. at Wolterton aforesd = Mary Magdalen, daughter of Peter Lombard, Esq. married 21st July, 1720, died 9th March, 1783, æt. 88, buried at Wolterton.

Maurice Sucking, D.D. one of he Prebendaries Westminster, nd Rector of arsham, county uffolk, buried at rsham aforeid. = Anne Turner, born 1693, died in Jan. 1769, aged 75, bur. at Barsham aforesaid.

- George Cholmondeley, Earl of Cholmondeley, Viscount Malpas, Baron Cholmondeley, of Wich Milbank, county Chester, and Baron of Newburgh in the isle of Anglesea, K.B. also Viscount Cholmondeley of Kells, and Baron of Newborough in the Kingdom of Ireland, died 10th June, 1770, buried at Malpas, county Chester, 21st of same month. = Mary, only daughter, married in the parish of Saint George, Hanover-square, 14th Sept. 1723, died at Aix, in Provence, in 1731, buried at Malpas.
- Horatio Walpole, eldest son, born 12th June, 1723, succeeded as Baron Walpole in 1757. = Rachael, third daughter of William Cavendish Duke of Devonshire, married the 12th May, 1748.

Edmund Nelson, Clerk, A.M. eldest son, born at East Bradenham, county Norfolk, 19th March, 1722-3, late of Caius College, Cambridge, Rector of Burnham Thorpe aforesaid. = Catharine Suckling, married at Beccles, county Suffolk, 11th May, 1749, died in December 1767, aged 42, buried at Burnham Thorpe.

- Edmund Nelson died an infant 1751, buried at Hilborough.
- Maurice Nelson, born at Swafham aforesaid, 24th May, 1753.
- William Nelson, Clerk, Rector of Hilborough aforesaid, second surviving son, born at Burnham Thorpe aforesaid, 20th April, 1757. = Sarah, daughter of Henry Yonge, Clerk, Vicar of Great Torrington, county Devon, and cousin to the Right Rev. Philip Yonge, D.D. Bishop of Norwich, married at Swafham, county Norfolk, 9th Nov. 1786.
- Sir Horatio Nelson, K.B. third surviving son, born in the parish of Burnham Thorpe aforesaid, 29 Sept. 1758, Midshipman in the Royal Navy 1st Jan. 1771, Lieutenant 10th April, 1777, Captain 11th June, 1779, Rear Admiral of the Blue 20th February, 1797; nominated a Knight Companion of the Most Hon. Mil. Order of the Bath, by warrant dated 27th May, 1797, and invested with the Ensigns thereof 27th September following. = Frances Herbert, daughter of William Woollward, Senior Judge of the Island of Nevis, and Relict of Josiah Nisbet, M.D. of Nevis aforesaid, married there 11th March, 1787.

olton, b.

Bolton, baptized at esaid.

- Horatio Nelson, only son and heir apparent, born at Hilborough aforesaid, 26th October, 1788, and there baptized.
- Charlotte Mary Nelson, only daughter, born at Hilborough aforesaid, Sept. 20th, 1787, and there baptized.

I do certify this Pedigree to be true, to the best of my knowledge and belief; witness my hand, this twenty-fourth day of Nov. 1797,

HORATIO NELSON.

Signed in the presence of

GEORGE NAYLER, Genealogist of the Order.

N° 1, SECTION 2.

THE LATE LORD VISCOUNT TRAFALGAR.

BY THE

REV. EDMUND OUTRAM, D. D.

PUBLIC ORATOR OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE.

THE veneration and gratitude, with which our Country dwells on the achievements of the immortal NELSON, are every day increased by the alarming progress of French tyranny on the Continent. It is to those achievements, under Heaven, that we are indebted for the blessings of freedom and security, which we still enjoy.

The Nation would have had a worthy Representative of that Great Man, so deservedly the founder of a noble family, in his amiable Nephew, the late Lord Viscount TRAFALGAR, had his life been spared. Although his years were few, for he died at the age of nineteen, yet he has left in the affection and regret of all who knew him, a lasting memorial of virtues, which would have dignified and adorned the most exalted station. In his manners he was easy and affable, in his person graceful, in his mien noble. His countenance, whilst it possessed a degree of sweetness, which afforded pleasure to all whom he approached, and which those who had once seen, never could forget, in some of its features bore a decided resemblance to that of his revered Uncle. In the year 1806, when he accompanied Admiral Russel with the North Sea Squadron to the Texel, the resemblance (which was more peculiarly striking, if at any time he had on the hat of a Naval Officer) was observed by all the Officers of the Majestic, who had seen his illustrious Relative. But however strong this personal likeness might be, there was at the same time a mental resemblance not less remarkable: whether this also was the gift of nature, or originated from the veneration in which he held the memory of a Man, the image of whose glory filled his mind perpetually.

Naval excellence was not the only characteristic of that extraordinary Man. He possessed an insight, which was most comprehensive and wonderful, into the general affairs of Europe; the relations, strength and dispositions of its several powers; the talents, integrity and influence of the leading men in each government. It appeared from the testimony of Mr. Pitt himself, that the mind of the Statesman had more than once been gratified and enlightened beyond measure, by conversing with the Hero on these subjects. He disdained to sit in Council at Naples with the reptile General, to whom the honour of the Austrian armies was afterwards so unworthily committed. He knew on whom the great cause of liberty in Europe might rely, and whom it had to fear. The same talent for discrimination, the same thirst for political knowledge, marked the character of his Nephew. Those who knew how to appreciate the advantages of long experience, acknowledged the accuracy with which he judged of men, whom he had but seldom seen, or with a small part only of whose conduct he was acquainted. In his studies, he loved not to trace the records of ancient times. His mind was continually drawn back from the annals of Greece and Rome, to the æra of his Country's Naval Glory. It was to the navies and armies of modern Europe, to her warriors and statesmen, to the existing laws and constitution of various countries, and more especially of his own, that his attention was almost incessantly directed.

Another distinguishing trait in the character of the illustrious NELSON, was the singular power which he possessed of rivetting the affection of all around him. It was not to his transcendant genius alone that he owed his renown: the hearts of the officers and men under his command went with him, as the heart of one man, into the hottest scenes of danger and destruction. The ardour of their attachment constituted one great part of his success and his glory. Nor does the character of his Nephew shrink from comparison in this respect. This noble youth was cordially and deservedly beloved by his friends, whom he hesitated not to serve, at the expense even of those gratifications, which he had most eagerly anticipated. His nature was ever generous, frank, and sincere. His conversation always cheerful, and often playful, but still within the bounds of propriety and discretion; as it captivated the young, so it conciliated the old. He loved to enter the lists with those who differed with him most, and were most violent, on political subjects. On these occasions, whilst the advantage which he derived from his superior good humour, was always manifest, his good sense and correct information, usually secured an easy victory. It was the opinion of some, who observed the manner in which he dealt with his antagonist, that the nation might expect to see in him a successful promoter of that unanimity in its councils, which leads to undivided energy in its strength. He was the Child of the Nation, and would one day have lived in the hearts of the British People.

One other feature (and the last that will here be mentioned) in which his character resembled that of his great Relative, was a marked disregard of danger on all occasions, where he believed his honour or his duty to be concerned. As he knew not the fears, so he abhorred the pusillanimous reasonings, of those who speak of submission to the power of France. He never would have despaired of England; of that Country for which NELSON fought, conquered, and fell.

Having left Eton school in the spring of the year 1806, he immediately commenced his residence at Cambridge, where he soon endeared himself to the leading members of the University, as well as to a numerous class of friends and equals. In the summer of the year 1807, he made the tour of the Hebrides; and was much pleased with the attention and hospitality which he experienced throughout Scotland, and particularly at Glasgow, where he saw with enthusiastic delight, the noble monument raised in honour of his Uncle by that great and loyal City. Although his person was slender, and his complexion often pale, yet his strength was such as enabled him to ascend the highest mountains, or pursue the red deer through the most extensive tracts, without any appearance of fatigue. It was however remarked by some, who saw him frequently, and knew well the sweetness of his disposition, and the goodness of his heart, that he looked like one of those, who are destined to be taken away in early life. Nor was he himself insensible to the uncertainty which hangs over human life at every period. When he learnt in the year 1806, that he had to congratulate one of his aunts on the birth of another son, he spent the day on which he received the news as a day of rejoicing to the NELSON family; because, as he expressed himself, there would be now no want of heirs male. His wishes for the prosperity of THAT family, and the continuance of its honours, were not limited by any considerations of himself. Still appearing to enjoy the blessing of health, he was seized about the 26th of December, 1807, with a slow fever, of that kind, which acquires irresistible strength by almost imperceptible degrees. In an early stage of his complaint, which commenced whilst he was with his fond and anxious Father in London, he went to Canterbury to visit his amiable Mother and Sister, whom he

tenderly loved. But returning with them to London for the benefit of medical advice, he died there on the 17th day of January, 1808, and was interred in St. Paul's Cathedral, under the centre of the Dome; that in death his body might sleep with the remains of him, whom in life he had so invariably honoured and revered.

Farewell, beloved and lamented Youth! May that fortitude which never deserted Thee, bind up the bleeding hearts of thy noble Relatives! And may thy gentle spirit, soothed ere long by the resignation of those who now mourn inconsolably, rest in everlasting peace!

February 16*th*, 1808.

N° 2.

Referred to at page 19.

Part of Captain Maurice Suckling's Instructions to his Nephew, Lieut. Horatio Nelson, which consisted originally of about six sheets of large writing paper.

To keep a Ship of War in that state which is understood by the expressions commonly made use of, "Being in very high Order, or being really a Man of War," the following Rules are necessary to be strictly observed by the Commanding Officer.

I. He should observe always to keep the Yards particularly square, and every rope fore and aft hauled tight, and never to suffer any rope to be hanging over the bows, or any other part of the ship whatever.

II. He should always be particular in having the hammocks well stowed in the nettings, and never suffer any to be hanging up below, after a certain hour, which hour should be eight in the morning.

III. He should always keep the hammocks and the clothes very clean, and likewise the ship, the decks of which, and the outside, he should be very particular in; and which, unless some unforeseen accident occurs, he should never neglect washing every morning.

IV. He ought to fix particular days in the week for the people to wash their clothes, and particular ones for washing between decks.

V. He should never allow any thing to be hanging about in the rigging, or any ropes to be towing overboard with things to them when in harbour, but on the washing days, unless rainy weather; when on the first fine day he may make an exception to the first part of this rule, and likewise to the other by washing between decks, and seeing that every man has his things thoroughly dried; and in that case it would be proper to smoke the ship; it should likewise be done after a gale of wind at sea.

VI. He should choose particular hours in the day for the Purser's Steward to serve provisions, &c. to the ship's company, which ought to be done twice a day; and there should likewise be fixed certain hours for going to the holds, to get up water, or other provisions, which time should be when the hands are turned out of a morning, or in the evening.

VII. He should always see that the keys of the different storerooms are not kept out of his cabin longer than while they are busy at the storeroom; and his constant order should be that a midshipman attend the storeroom; that the steward may not serve out any thing but

at the fixed hours, he should see that the keys are returned when the time is expired. He should never suffer any keys to go from his cabin after gun fire at night.

VIII. When they are employed about the powder, he should see that a midshipman attends the light room; nor should he suffer any person to go to the magazine, without the master at arms to attend, or ship's corporal.

IX. He should, unless he means to oblige some particular friend, always hoist the boats in at sunset; but his invariable rule should be, never to keep a boat out after gun fire.

X. Unless some particular duty prevents, he should always pipe the hammocks down at sunset.

XI. Every day at seven bells, before noon, and at the same time before four in the afternoon, he should make every body leave off work, and have the decks swept fore and aft.

XII. On the washing days, he should break those that are washing off, at six bells, that the ship's sides may be washed before dinner.

XIII. He should, when washing the decks, always see that the gunner and his crew wash the guns well; and if in a large ship, he should always take care that the gunner and his mate attend to squaring the ports when they are hauled up of a morning, which if the weather will permit should be done at the time the topgallant yards are got up.

XIV. He should always be particular in working his sails together; for nothing is so lubberly as to hoist one sail after another.

Times allotted for some things which form the Internal Regulation of a Ship, and constitute a Ship of War.

	Hours.
For piping the hammocks up, morning at - - - -	Half past Seven.
To begin washing the ship - - - - - - -	Five.
For the people to wash - - - - - - -	Tuesday, Friday.
For washing between decks - - - - - - -	Wednesday, Saturday.
For the purser's steward to serve, morning, at - - -	Five.
Provisions twice aday, evening, at - - - - -	Four.
For going to the holds, morning, at - - - - -	Five.
For all storeroom keys to be returned, evening, at - -	Five.
For hoisting in the boats, evening, at - - - -	Six.
For piping the hammocks down - - - - - -	Six.
For liberty to be granted to the ship's company to go out of the ship - - - - - - - -	Sundays.

N° 2, Sect. 2.

THIS conduct of the Comptroller, in leaving his Nephew to the power of his own abilities, without any assistance from a superior, in some degree resembles the situation in which Edward the Black Prince was placed by his Father, as related by Froissart. (Johnes's octavo edition, Vol. II. page 167.)

"The King answered, 'Now, Sir Thomas, return back to those that sent you, and tell them from me, not to send again for me this day, or expect that I shall come, let what will happen, as long as my Son has life: and say, that I command them to *let the Boy win his spurs*; for I am determined, if it please God, that all the glory and honour of this day shall be given to him."

N° 3, Sect. 1.

Illustration of a passage in page 32, stating, "That the Plan of Operations, drawn up by General Dalling, respecting the San Juan Expedition, had been found amongst the Nelson Papers."

This curious MS. appeared from the first to have been written by Nelson; and a further acquaintance with his mode of composition, tends to confirm that opinion. It probably, therefore, was entirely his own drawing up, and not General Dalling's, as was imagined by an Officer who had been attached to the expedition. If this supposition be correct, it affords an extraordinary proof of Captain Nelson's abilities at that age.

N° 3, Sect. 2.

Referred to at Page 64.

Names of Commissioned and Warrant Officers who served with Captain Nelson in the following Ships.

BADGER (*Jan.* 1, 1779, *to June* 19).

Lieutenants.	Surgeons.	Masters.	Pursers.	Carpenters.	Gunners.	Boatswains.	Coxswains.
O. Edwards	Fran. Foster	J. Wilson	John Tyson	R. Whetstone	W. Watson	P. Hatton	J. Wilson

HINCHINBROKE (*Sept.* 1, 1779, *to May* 1, 1780).

A. St. Leger Geo. Harrison C. Cunningham Geo. Bullens Peter Burns	Fran. Foster	J. Walker	R. Huggens	C. O'Kendon	C. Hayes	W. Parry	J. Boyet

JANUS (*May* 2, 1780, *to Sept.* 19).

Geo. H. Stevens J. C. Haswell C. C. Priswick Henry Knight	T. Jameson	J. Flenwick	W. Hickman	Rice Davis	L. Hepburn	A. Bradford	J. Boyet

ALBEMARLE (*August* 15, 1781, *to July* 3, 1783).

Wm. Osborne Martin Hinton J. Bromwich	J. Armstrong	Don. Trail	H. Delamain W. Easton	Joseph Batt Samuel Innis	James Low	Joseph Pike	T. Kidney

BOREAS (*March* 24, 1784, *to Nov.* 30, 1787).

James Wallis *(since dead)* Digby Dent S. G. Church	T. Graham	J. Jameson	D. L. Peers	John Gore	J. Ballentine	J. Robinson J. Scotland J. King C. Green	G. Long

N° 4.

Referred to at page 87.

The following are the Observations which Lord Nelson made on Prize Agency, as given at his examination before the Commissioners in 1803.

'From my own knowledge and experience, I am warranted in observing, That Prize Money does not get into the pockets of the captors so expeditiously as it ought, and in many instances not at all; great sums of money having been lost by the failure of agents. I am of opinion that prize agents should be appointed by the captors, as at present; but, at the time of registering their powers of attorney in the Admiralty and Vice Admiralty Courts, they should give security in the sum of 2 or 3000*l.*[a] for the purpose of securing a faithful discharge of their duty, and excluding improper persons from acting as agents. That government should establish a general Prize Agent Office in London, and an Agent or Receiver at each of the Foreign stations. That no Prize Money, or Prize Goods, should be liable to the debts of Agents. That if the Agents make the distribution within three months from the day of condemnation, they should be allowed the full commission of five per cent. and at the expiration of that period deliver into the Prize Office (or if abroad to the Receiver) an account of sales, and pay over the amount of the unclaimed shares remaining in their hands.

'That if the Prize shall have been disposed of, and distribution not made in three months, the Agent should deliver an account of sales to the Prize Office, or Receiver, as aforesaid, and pay over the whole of the net proceeds, with a deduction of ——— from the rate of the commission allowed him; unless he shall have been prevented making distribution by the absence of the ship on service; in which case, should her return into port be soon expected by the Commander in Chief, the Prize Agent shall, on a certificate from him to that effect, be allowed a further time of six weeks for making such distribution. If the Prize, or the whole of the Goods, shall not be sold, he should pay over the amount of the money in his hands, and give his reasons for not having sold the whole; which, if satisfactory, a further time, not exceeding three months, should be allowed him to dispose of the remainder. If in that time he does not finally close his accounts, or give good and sufficient reasons to the Prize Office, or Receiver, for not doing so, he should then be allowed only two and a half per cent. and be subject to penalties, or the business taken out of his hands. The Agent's commission should be calculated upon the Net,[b] and not upon the Gross amount of the proceeds of prizes.

'In cases of appeal, no distribution shall be made until a *final* decision;[c] and in the event of the decree being reversed, the claimants should only be entitled to the *net*[d] proceeds, and the captor exonerated from all expences incurred by the erroneous decisions of the judges who are appointed by government.[e] All neutral property, whether captured by the King's ships or privateers,[e] should be lodged in the hands of the officers appointed by

[a] *Note in his own hand writing.* In order to keep out men of bad character; but not intended to exclude men of little fortune.

[b] *Ibid.* Every Merchant is content with two and a half per cent. on the Gross, and therefore surely Agents may be well content with five per cent. on the Net.

[c] *Ibid.* This has been done.

[d] *Ibid.* From the Captors: Government to settle what has arose in consequence of the decision.

[e] *Ibid.* To get rid of the iniquity practised by privateers, to the great distress of Neutral Powers.

government until final decision. The Agents of the Navy, Victualling, Sick and Hurt Boards abroad, should be directed to take up the money necessary for carrying on the naval service from the Receivers of Prize Money. The Treasurer of the Navy to be at the head of the Prize Board.'

N° 5.

Referred to page 134.

A short account of the Family of Sir JOHN EDWARD ACTON, *Bart. late Minister of His Sicilian Majesty; from Beetham's Baronetage.*

ACTON OF ALDENHAM, SHROPSHIRE, CREATED BARONET JAN. 17, 1643.

THIS ancient family is descended from William de Acton Burnell, living 14 Edward III. 1340, who had two sons, John and Edward. John gave to his brother Edward all his lands in Acton Burnell and Acton Pigot, 16 Edward III. 1342.

Edward Acton, Esq. who on account of his great loyalty to Charles I. was advanced to the dignity of a Baronet 17 January, 1643. He died 1659, aged 59. By Sarah, daughter of Richard Mitton of Halston, Shropshire, he had five sons;

Sir JOHN FRANCIS EDWARD ACTON, the present Baronet, eldest son of Edward Acton, son of Captain Waller Acton, second son of Sir Walter Acton, who died in 1665, was baptized June 3, 1736; an Officer in the Imperial service in Tuscany in 1763; and having particularly distinguished himself in 1775 before Algiers, was raised to the rank of Major General, and received several marks of favour from the Great Duke Leopold, from the Emperor Joseph II. and was much honoured by the Empress Maria Theresa in several commissions between these Courts and that of the Two Sicilies. He was sent to Naples in August 1778, named Secretary of State, and Lieutenant General, with the department of the Navy and Commerce; in 1780 the department of War was united under his direction; in 1785 he was made Counsellor of State and Knight of the Royal Order of St. Janivier, and of St. Stephen of Tuscany; and in 1789 was Minister of Foreign Affairs: all these he has resigned, but he continues, without any ministerial influence, to be honoured with the particular confidence and regard of his Sicilian Majesty for his great services. He married Mary Ann, the daughter of one of his brothers (having obtained permission from the Pope), by whom he has one son, Richard Ferdinando, born the 24th of July, 1801.

Arms—Gules, two lions passant, argent, between nine cross crosslets, fitchê, or.

Crest—In a wreath, on a torse, a human leg and thigh in armour, couped, and dropping blood, all proper, embellished or.

Seats—At Aldenham, and Round Acton, otherwise Acton Round, near Aldenham, in Shropshire.

N° 6.

Referred to at page 353.

British Line under the command of Sir John Jervis, K. B. on the 14th of February, 1797, disposed in the temporary Order of Battle on that day.

N°	Ships' Names.	Guns.	Commanders.
1	Blenheim	90	T. L. Frederick
2	Diadem	64	G. H. Towry
3	Prince George	98	Rear Admiral W. Parker, T. Irwin Captain
4	Irresistible	74	G. Martin
5	Britannia	100	Vice Admiral Thompson, T. Foley Captain
6	Captain	74	Commodore H. Nelson, R. W. Miller Captain
7	Egmont	74	J. Sutton
8	Victory	100	Admiral Sir John Jervis R. Calder Captain of the Fleet G. Grey Captain
9	Culloden	74	T. Troubridge
10	Orion	74	Sir James Saumarez
11	Colossus	74	G. Murray
12	Barfleur	98	Vice Admiral Hon. W. Waldegrave, J. R. Dacres Captain
13	Excellent	74	C. Collingwood
14	Goliath	74	Sir C. H. Knowles, Bart.
15	Namur	90	J. H. Whitshed
	Total	1232 Guns	
	Total Spanish Line	2308	
	Difference against the British	1076 Guns	

Frigates.

Lively	32	Right Hon. Lord Viscount Garlies
La Minerve	40	G. Cockburn
Niger	32	E. J. Foote
Southampton	32	J. M'Namara
La Bonne Citoyenne	18	C. Lindsay
Raven brig	18	W. Prowse
Fox cutter	12	Lieutenant Gibson

N° 6, SECT. 2.

Spanish Line of Battle under the command of Vice-Admiral Don Josef Cordova, on the 14th of February, 1797.

	N°	Ships' Names.	Guns.	
Van Squadron.	1	Bahama	74	
	2	Pelayo	74	
	3	San Pablo	74	
	4	Neptuno	84	
	5	Concepcion	112	
	6	San Domingo	74	
	7	Conquistador	74	
	8	San Juan Nepomuceno	74	
	9	San Genaro	74	
Centre Squadron.	10	Mexicano	112	
	11	Terrible	74	
	12	Oriente	74	
	13	Soberano	74	
	14	SANTISSIMA TRINIDADA	136	
	15	San Nicolas	84	*taken*
	16	San Ysidro	74	*ditto*
	17	Salvator del Mundo	112	*ditto*
	18	San Ildefonso	74	
Rear Squadron.	19	Conde de Regla	112	
	20	San Firmin	74	
	21	Firme	74	
	22	Principe de Asturias	112	
	23	San Antonio	74	
	24	Glorioso	74	
	25	Atlante	74	
	26	San Francisco de Paula	74	
	27	San Josef	112	*taken*
		Total	2308 Guns	
		Total British Line	1232	
		Difference in favour of the Spanish Fleet	1076 Guns	

Frigates' Names.	Guns.
Brigida	34
Casilda	34
Perla	34
Mercedes	34
Paz	34
Dorotea	34
Guadalupe	34
Santa Teresa	34
Vigilante (brig)	12
Matilda	34
Diana	34
Atocha	34
Ceres	34

N° 6, SECT. 3.

List of the Killed and Wounded in the squadron under the command of Admiral Sir J. Jervis in the action with the Spanish Fleet, February 14, 1797.

Ships.	Flag Officers and Captains.	Killed.				Wounded.				Total Killed and Wounded.
		Officers	Seamen	Marines	Soldiers	Officers	Seamen	Marines	Soldiers	
Victory - -	Admiral Sir J. Jervis, K. B. 1st Captain R. Calder 2d Captain G. Grey	0	1	0	0	0	2	3	0	6
Britannia - -	Vice Admiral Thompson Captain Thomas Foley	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
Barfleur - -	V. Ad. Hon. W. Waldegrave Captain J. Rich. Dacres	0	0	0	0	0	7	0	0	7
Prince George	Rear Admiral Parker Captain John Irwin	0	7	1	0	0	7	0	0	15
Blenheim - -	Captain Tho. L. Frederick	0	10	0	2	2	40	0	7	61
Namur - - -	Captain James H. Whitshed	0	2	0	0	0	5	0	0	7
Captain - - -	Commodore Nelson Captain R. W. Miller	1	20	0	3	2	50	0	4	80
Goliath - - -	Captain Sir C. H. Knowles	0	0	0	0	0	4	4	0	8
Excellent - -	Captain C. Collingwood	1	8	2	0	0	10	2	0	23
Orion - - - -	Captain Sir James Saumarez	0	0	0	0	0	7	2	0	9
Colossus - - -	Captain George Murray	0	0	0	0	0	4	1	0	5
Egmont - - -	Captain John Sutton	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0
Culloden - - -	Captain Thomas Troubridge	1	7	2	0	0	39	8	0	57
Irresistible - -	Captain George Martin	0	4	1	0	1	12	1	0	19
Diadem - - -	Captain G. H. Towry	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	2
		3	59	6	5	5	189	21	12	300

Officers Killed and Wounded.

Blenheim Mr. Edward Libby, acting Lieutenant, wounded.
Mr. Peacock, boatswain, wounded.
Mr. Joseph Wixon, master's mate, ditto, since dead.
Captain Major William Norris, marines, killed.
Mr. James Goodench, midshipman, ditto.
Commodore Nelson bruised, but not obliged to quit the deck.
Mr. Carrington, boatswain, wounded in boarding the San Nicolas.
Mr. Thomas Lund, midshipman, wounded.
Excellent Mr. Peter Peffers, boatswain, killed.
Mr. Edward Augustus Downe, master's mate, wounded.
Orion Mr. Thomas Mansell, midshipman, wounded.
Culloden Mr. G. A. Livingston, Lieutenant of marines, killed.
Irresistible Serjeant Watson, marines, killed.
Mr. Andrew Thompson, Lieutenant, wounded.
Mr. William Balfour, midshipman, ditto.
Mr. Hugh M'Kinnon, master's mate, ditto

N° 7.

Names of Commissioned and Warrant Officers who served with Captain NELSON *in the* AGAMEMNON.

(January 31, 1793, *to June* 10, 1796.)

Lieutenants.

Martin Hinton
Wenman Allison
Thomas Edmonds
Joseph Bullen
George Andrews
William Lucas
Maurice W. Suckling
Edward Chetham
Peter Spicer
James Summers

Lieutenants.

James Noble
Henry Compton
James M'Arthur
Edward Berry

Surgeons.

John Roxburgh
Cornwall Reynolds
Thomas Weatherstone

Master.

John Wilson

Purser.

Thomas Fellowes

Carpenter.

David Sharp

Gunner.

William Collett

Boatswain.

Joseph King

Coxswain.

Francis Lepe

N° 8.

Names of Commissioned and Warrant Officers who served with Captain NELSON *in the* CAPTAIN.

(June 11th, 1796.)

Lieutenants.

Richard Dutton
Peter Spicer
James Summers
James Noble
Henry Compton
Edward Berry

Surgeon.

Thomas Eshelby

Master.

Philip Thomas

Purser.

William Williams

Carpenter.

David Sharp

Gunner.

William Collett

Boatswain.

Joseph King

Coxswain.

John Thompson

N° 9.

Letter from Lord GRENVILLE, illustrating the Complaints preferred against Commodore NELSON by the Genoese Government in 1796.

The Right Hon. the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty.

"MY LORDS, I have had the honour of laying before the King the different papers relative to the complaint preferred by the Marquis de Spinola, in the name of the Genoese Government, against Commodore Nelson, together with the two letters from that Officer relating thereto, which were transmitted to this office by Mr. Nepean the 28th ult.[a]

[a] The complaints made by the Genoese Government, referred to in Lord Grenville's letter, are stated in Commodore Nelson's energetic reply, inserted pages 265, 266, 267, 268, and for further accounts of his differences with that Government, see pages 291, 316, 317.

" His Majesty had not thought it proper that I should enter into any discussion or explanations with the Marquis de Spinola in question, until due reparation shall have been made for the acts of hostility committed by the republic against his Majesty's ships, and against the property of his Majesty's subjects; but as this circumstance deprives Commodore Nelson for the present of that public testimony in favour of the propriety of his conduct, which must result from such a discussion, whenever it may be entered into, I esteem it an act of justice due to that Officer, considering the nature of the charge brought against him, to inform your Lordships, that his Majesty has been graciously pleased entirely to approve of the conduct of Commodore Nelson in all his transactions with the Republic of Genoa.

" I have the honour to be, my Lords, your Lordships' most obedient humble servant,

Downing Street, 2d Feb. 1797. " GRENVILLE."

To Admiral Sir John Jervis, K. B. &c. &c. &c. Lisbon.

" SIR, The Right Honourable Lord Grenville, one of his Majesty's principal Secretaries of State, having in his letter of the 2d instant, signified to my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty his Majesty's approbation of the proceedings of Commodore Nelson in his several transactions with the Government of Genoa; I have their Lordships' commands to transmit to you inclosed a copy of the said letter, in order that you may communicate the same to the Commodore.

" I am, Sir, your most obedient humble servant,

Admiralty Office, 13th Feb. 1797. " EVAN NEPEAN."

The above is a true Copy from the Documents annexed to the Pedigree of Sir Horatio Nelson, now remaining in the Genealogical Books of the Order of the Bath. Witness my hand this 23d day of June, 1809,

GEORGE NAYLER,
York Herald, and Genealogist of the Order of the Bath.

Illustration of Note [d], page 195.

M. Tartaroli is stated to have been Mayor of Ajaccio at the time that Buonaparte and his family were banished from that town in the year 1793. The office of *Podesta*, or Chief Magistrate, he had some years previously filled; but when the expulsion from Corsica of the Buonaparte family, with the Abbè Fesch, took place in 1793, M. Tartaroli was President of the Supreme Tribunal of Justice in Corsica, Director General of Artillery, and Inspector of Fortifications; and in that capacity acted as second in command under General Paoli, and commanded the expedition against Ajaccio at the period alluded to. The General Assembly of the States of Corsica, consisting of 1009 deputies, unanimously pronounced sentence on the 29th of May, 1793, against the two families of Buonaparte and Arena.

T. Bensley, Printer,
Bolt Court, Fleet Street, London.